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GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

स्थितधीर्मुनिरुच्यते

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MEANING OF HISTORY

By Dr. K. C. Varadachari*

Is there meaning for or in History?

Is it discernable in the mere march of events or facts or is it something that a mind prone to generalisations like science sees in this march of events: A science of History would perhaps help to reveal the meaning of History. The meaning of science for most lies in its discoveries of laws which help prediction about the future. There are many who deny this scientific determinism in History. Science in physical life is possible—perhaps with the help of statistical probabilities even other natural sciences could progress; in the field where matter is like money and power (*artha śāstra*) the sciences could progress very well. But it is very doubtful whether in the fields of psychology that deal with spiritual activities, of ends that transcend the terrestrial scheme even though operating in the context of this terrestrial scheme there can be any science in the sense of physical and natural sciences.

Let us note that Aristotle in the West classically stated the types of causes which operate on the events of every day.

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He listed four types of causes: the material, the formal, the efficient and the final. Science most often deals with the first and is content to observe and deal with the uniformity of causes and effects, their identities and similarities. The second, formal cause is of the form of ideas, patterns of making which are not in matter but are introduced into it and this is done in a mechanical conception by an agent in whose mind the forms are in clear form. The potter knows what form of pot he wants and gives this form to matter (silver or brass or clay). The form is the idea which is introduced into the scheme. In our own conceptions a plan is the idea which has to be executed in the material of the people. Thus an intellectual being capable of having ideas introduces or works this form into matter very much like a jeweller. But in organic life where the idea is unconsciously held it is seen to manifest itself in terms of adaptation of the environment to man's needs or life's needs, even if this need be just survival. The inner movement towards having a different form in order to survive is the life this same formal force operates through the efficient causality of life in the lives of social groups leading up to the concept of mobility (social and cultural). Natural mobility is the efficient causality operating in and through diverse instrumentations, organic and inorganic, and this is the third kind of causality that Aristotle mentioned. In Nyāya we call this causality *nimitta kāraṇa*. But *nimitta* is also an ambiguous word; it suggests also the reason for occasion for causality or causal activity. This brings us to the final causes or goals for which the idea is devised, matter shaped and modified continuously and new tools improvised to bring about the desired forms suitable to fulfilling the ends or goals of man.

The proper understanding of these four causes which in fact are all necessary for any explanation or meaning of any emergence or result is a basic necessity. If we can show

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that History, that is the march of humanity through the ages starting with its emergence from a lower level being to the present day, has a goal, that goal would throw light on the progress of movement down the ages: if we cannot see this or discern this goal in and through the process we can hardly speak of any progress at all for progress is a relative term, meaningful in terms of its approach towards the realization of the goal. In fact the word evolution itself is a relative concept dependent upon the goal of life—quite arbitrarily it is held that evolution is a process by which homogeneity leads up to heterogeneity—the unicellular organism becomes a multicellular organism—diversity leads to the fulness of unity whilst yet maintaining the unity in a different form than oneness, is said to be a fair enough description. So too the Monolithic society of the family with unity and identities of blood gets diversified so much as to attain the goal of a pluralistic democratic society. Every attempt at paternalistic government by Dictatorship is a regressive feature which is rejected by the evolutionary nisus. Thus we can find that history to be meaningful must have a glimpse of the human destiny or else it can be but a serious catalogue of events which have nothing to link them up except chronology, or time. But even time begins with us with an event: a group of planets in a particular house (e.g. *aṣṭagrahakūṭa*) or the Birth or Death of a great individual (Kṛṣṇa or Rāma or Buddha or Christ or Mohammed or any other) or a great catastrophe like the Flood. Thus its impact on humanity in the shaping of man's terrestrial activities is a notable date. But by itself either one should trace history as an unfolding of that Idea through time and give an appraisal or historical judgment about its realisation or progress or it should discover how that idea finds its impediments and halts and diversions and collapse.

A philosopher of history could proceed to see in the large canvas of centuries how the Idea however conceived

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at the beginning by humanity as a whole or in a segment of it flows out inevitably and is determined by a suprahuman elan towards its realisation in the *homo sapiens* and *homo faber*. But what is less realised is that this process or movement is motivated towards a goal that is incapable of being discerned in the process according to some, and capable of being discerned by others. Those who discern it are those who see life as a whole and steadily, *sub specie eterni*—they can be called the *Ṛṣis* (*tri-kālajñas*) and Platonists or Utopians if you please. The others are those who see little purposes and their realisations but cannot see a goal of History as a whole.

The two kinds of philosophers of History can be called the Platonic and the Bergsonian. The former holds the goal to be the Realisation of the Utlimate Idea—Harmony and all Beatitude and Society (*Saṅgha*), but the latter holds that the future is open, unpredictable, —immense novelty deriving its new shapes by that ever-present inexhaustible spiritual mobility. The future is for ever bringing forth novelty (*navo navo bhavati*). Bergson in fact contends that the impulse towards unity that philosophers discern in history, as the goal of mankind, is not at the end but at the beginning itself. One unitary force or elan winds its way up and down creating matter, life and mind and urging itself on towards the shaping of the gods or supermen. Thus a philosophy of history based on the theory of a *sub specie eterni* vision (*krānta darśana*) is not correct and leads to such pessimistic views of history as that of Spengler and others. But this Bergsonian theory lacks the spirit of Real Idea which in fact dimly, unconsciously, sub-consciously urges the life itself towards its enhancement and transformation even upto the point of its own decease (death). That the infinite versatility and creative inventiveness and planning of Spirit is available for it in freedom shows that free

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dom itself exhibits itself in and through all the self-determinations that it makes.

It was Von Hartmann who held that for our human mentality the process of history is irrational and works through much violent dissipation of energies and absolutely ceaseless bunglings. It is part of chance play and adaptation vigilant towards new situations. There is obviously nothing uniform in nature, a success in one sphere is no guarantee that it would help success elsewhere or elsewhence. History being an irrational endeavour to seek scientific law or philosophic meaning in it is meaningless. The irrational qua irrational is meaningless. George Trevelyn therefore refused to think that history is meaningful. In fact a scientist of history would refuse to consider final causes and devote himself to discovering just those uniformities which recur again and again. Such a view that might emerge if one were partially scientific in so far as the final causes are ruled out as in the consideration of natural sciences—might lead to a statement of a theory of eternal recurrence. In fact the survey by Professor Toynbee of the rise and fall of civilizations would give the first impression that there is continuous recurrence in history as fact: indeed one seems to recall Ceasar in Napoleon, and Alexander in others. History repeats itself. There is the large cycle of the order of birth, growth and decline and death; and another civilization is born elsewhere not always on the ashes of the former repeating the same curve of evolution and decline—and committing the same mistakes. There were always the ages of growth and enthusiasm, and decline of morals and increase of cupidity and hedonism. Though many might have forgotten the historian Freud. He almost in the same terms as Hayek (the author of *Roads to Serfdom*) enumerated the parallels between the ancient Roman Empire and the British Empire (vide his *Life of Caesar Julius*). One

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seems to be seeing the same phenomenon over again even in one's own lifetime, and a sense of reminiscence seems to grasp our thought and makes us deeply moved by pessimism. Even the graphic histories of Gibbon and Carlyle are just deep penetrative insights into this truth of eternal recurrence. In fact Ouspensky claimed that this recurrence is a fact that makes it rather pessimistic. But he himself pointed out that there are certain circumstances that lead to the breaking up of this cycle of eternal recurrence at each level of being.

I think that the element of transcendence over this cycle of existence, *punar-janma-jarā-maraṇa,* has been the most important concept of Indian thought. They found that in the Itihāsas and Purāṇas this enternal cycle is prevalent at all levels. No one transcends his level of being, as a materialist, or hedonist or politician unless he is able to get a new force introduced into his consciousness by way of a spiritual initiation that leads to his abandonment of the old goals. This theory of eternal recurrence is also known in Buddhism as the law of dependent causation, *pratītya samutpāda*—this being that arises in a chain. We can well discern the principle of Rake's progress in this chain. This is the general law of life at each level. This chain is available even in respect of cosmic events like rain as the Vedas have enunciated. Even the gods are not free from the deterministic chain, but they have the capacity to pass from one chain to another. Conceive of a spiral and a circle concentric and the transition from one to the other by a leap, but it is leap secured by an upward pull rather than a push from below. Ouspensky showed by a diagram that in the ordinary circle that goes round—the going in one direction results in finding oneself moving in the opposite direction—though subjectively yet moving in the same direction. Thus when man thinks that he is progressing, others would

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find him moving in the opposite direction. It is doubtless true that this is the law of degeneration or regression or retrograde movement in all circular orbits. Seizing this principle Professor Toynbee assumed that the uplift of several civilizations is by a shift of the orbit from one to another higher up spiralling above the lower and in one sense apparently reflecting the stages of the lower. The March of Civilizations has been achieved along with the recurrence but developing a new meaning because of the introduction of new values however subtle. But as most people can grasp the lower rather than the higher, there happens the fact of considering that one is higher when in fact one is lower, and *vice versa*—that one is yet in the lower cycle or circle or orbit when actually one is in the higher level.

The new world has always the characteristic of being new because of the introduction of a higher consciousness. In our Indian tradition, this introduction of a higher level consciousness takes place by the descent of the Divine Consciousness to that level and lifting up creatures from their lower circular orbit and giving them or placing them in a higher evolutionary orbit. This shift of orbit is not automatic movement but a conscious or super-conscious function which may be called the Deity. Professor Alexander almost suggested this emergence of the Deity in his magnum opus *Space, Time and Deity*. The higher elevation of the evolutionary species has been rendered possible by the descent of the *avatāras* of different level consciousnesses, such as, the matsya, kūrma, varāha, narasiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma; Kākutsa, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa (*Bala-Rāma*) and so on. This shift of levels is a phenomenon of utmost historical evolution not only of animals and other life but of humanity as well. The four ages of humanity, the four aśramas, the four castes and the quadruples of Indian thought really must be interpreted in terms of the orbits and key points of orbits

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where a passage could open up to the higher or would open up then. The secret of this ascending ladder to terrains higher is a closed one to those who have not arrived at the fitness for the evolutionary ascent as well: wherever men have refused to see beyond or become aware of the terrible determinism that stalks all cyclic movements depending upon repetitive adaptive behaviour (*pratītya-samutpāda*). Nature is a field of freedom as well as necessity. Human history is a series of attempts to develop and integrate its freedom and as such it moves forwards through all martyrdom towards the realisation of freedom. History in fact seen from one point of view and that is the legitimate and spiritual point of view is the great and glorious revelation and assertion of freedom in all facets of existence, in society, culture, art and music and it reveals itself as the creativity at the back of spirituality. There can hardly be any spirituality or spirit without this manifest-creativity of freedom; a freedom that uses destruction itself for a new creation when it cannot break through recalcitrant nature. One shapes a bangle by melting gold since the nugget cannot itself be turned into a bangle and so also man himself will be broken and moulded into a higher type by the Viśvakarmā if he refuses to move. It is stated in a *Paurāṇika* story that when some gods refused to incarnate they were made to take birth at a lower level and assist a higher evolution in those with whom their lots were cast. Nobody can resist the call of freedom and a freedom for all and it is an eternal process and therefore just as every rose at every dawn and its blossoming is beautiful in the intensity of that hour, so too the inward surge for real freedom in each individual heart demands the making of history of the eternal which freedom alone can envisage if it can. Since our freedom is only an expression not of our creativity but an ecstacy of getting out of the wheel of becoming, the orbit of the lower order values and existence, it does not fully comprehend that this freedom is but a pos-

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sibility for creative being though it may turn out in lesser men a curse leading one into deeper darknesses than the previous. Spiritual history as Berdyeav averred is basically internal, and so does Sri Aurobindo hold it: it is that which grows in freedom and is nourished by it: it not only tries to keep up its freedom by creative activity but proceeds to expand the frontiers of freedom for all because of the oneness of Reality. All histories are parts of one Universal history as man understands it and comprehends it. In fact spiritual history might be asserted to be trans-historical or a-historical. But it is not so. There is no antithesis between the historcal and the transcendental spiritual. The historical in a sense may be said to be the external expression of the internal spiritual. The quality of the spiritual is not entirely absent from the historical: in fact there are moments in history when the quality of spirit, as seen in the efflorescent periods of creative art and inventiveness and appearance of geniuses or heroes, is present in all its parts. The degradation of historical significance arises from the weakening of the spiritual through the mechanisation and materialisation of spirit. This weakening process has to be constantly or vigilantly arrested and reversed: but it is a fact that this has been done in previous epochs only by heroes and geniuses, *avatāras* and *ṛṣis* seized with cosmic purpose and spirituality. In our own time the birth of the great men (*mahātmās*) of global perceptions and insights and urges of penetrating spirituality, e.g., Mahatma Gandhi, Svami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo, and others less known but not less significant to human evolution, has signalised the advent of a new age, opening up new dimensions of spirituality. But it would be foolish to think that all this is inevitable. Inevitability or decreedness of Historical future is a logical postulate of Marxian dialectical materialism: provided there is no incidence of a new potentiality—which may well happen through the radio-active fall-outs—not spiritual indeed in the ordinary

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sense but biologically significant and psychologically pregnant. The world of inventions fortunately makes it impossible to be certain of the determinateness or predictability of life-movements and human movements.

Earlier epochs have perhaps witnessed the glorious manifestaton of religious and mythical structures and sculptures and brought out what goes by the name of spiritual architecture and culture. But it is well known that round the world we can perceive the derelict remnants of religious art and culture from Maya and Aztecs to Bali and Angkor vat not to speak of the demise of culture in the most civilized belts of humanity in Asia and Europe. A peep into the past may provide a depressing sensation albeit not meaningless. Mankind unconscious and conscious has seized this failure and today has brought into being an atomic age or Nuclear Age and with its global pervasion and industry has provided a new environment that challenges the laws of the past cycles and recurrences. Today nothing is just recurrence of the past. The masks are different indeed. But even here one may see how freedom has forged the weapons of freedom for freedom of the spirit bringing out the need for real creative peace and a new consciousness which is unlike the frog-in-the-well consciousness with its limited sovereign domains.

It is to this new possibility of consciousness working on cosmic scale and power that Sri Aurobindo calls attention. Instead of this age being called a nuclear one it is also psychically a supramental one. The supermind is not represented in any one single *avatara* as in the past but in each and every one striving for real concrete freedom of the world and oneself.

There have been undoubtedly some who have felt that history is meaningless and man must learn to get out of this meaninglessness. Some apophatic theologians think so, and

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Berdyeav includes Indian philosophers with their entire lack of interest in history among them. They consider that this is a *māyā* (an illusion). Berdyeav himself considers that history has meaning as a tragedy of humanity except for the Supreme historical event of the Crucifixion of Jesus which alone can make man transcend the historical. But these are perhaps to peg spiritual form to a single event which because of its significance beyond all space and time, has meaning to such as feel the triumph of the spirit over time or history. However all these attempts reveal the fact that whether the Spirit pushes humanity forwards to itself in all its significance or pulls humanity towards itself in order to grant it significance in its struggle and satisfaction in the attainment, it is to a factor beyond and in history that they call attention. Whether it occurs only once or many times depends very much on the weakening of the spiritual force and the necessity to lift up the movement out of its routine orbit to one that lists a higher value for the sake of which the lower is willing to die and die once for all.

A study of history from on integral point of view has been developed in another place.[1] The meaning of progress has also been developed by me in another series of lectures.[2] Here I am showing or rather attempt to show how we can look at history both as significant and spiritual and show also how the spiritual and the material-biological work in unison for the constant production or creative result of unending experience of *saccidānanda*: Existence—Reality, intelligence —Idea and Bliss-fulfilment in freedom for each and for all.

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1. *A Critique of the Philosophies of History*: Annamalai University.

2. *Human Progress*: Principal Millar Endowment Lectures, University of Madras.

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THE DATE OF GOVINDĀNANDA

By Dr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya*

1. The late M. M. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitirtha of Bhatpara, West Bengal, published original editions of the following four nibandhas of the Bengali nibandhakāra, Govindānanda, in the *Bibliotheca Indica* between 1902 and 1905, viz. (1) *Varṣakriyākaumudī* (V.K.K.), (2) *Dānakriyākaumudī* (D.K.K.), (3) *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī* (Śr.K.K.) and (4) *Śuddhikaumudī* (Ś.K.). He also hinted in the preface of the V.K.K. at the existence in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, of an incomplete MS. of a fifth nibandha of the same author, viz. *Kriyākaumudī* and also referred therein to the significant fact of the *Kriyākaumudī* having been quoted several times in the *Āhnikatattva* of Raghunandana. But he did not hunt up those quotations in the latter work and identify them in the incomplete MS. of the former work. He also erroneously equated the *Varṣakṛtya*, mentioned several times in Raghunandan's *Malamāsatattva* and other works with the *Varṣakriyākaumudī* in his prefaces of the V. K. K. and Śr. K. K. Moreover, finding mention of several Śaka years between 1397 and 1457 (corresponding to 'between 1475 and 1535 A.D.') in the Ś. K. as illustrations of the probability of the happening of *malamāsa* (intercalary month) in the third year and not necessarily just after the lapse of two years and eight months after the earlier intercalary month, he inaccurately stated in the preface to that work that Govindānanda has referred to the *malamāsas* having taken place between the Śaka years 1400

* City College, Calcutta.

1. Paper read in the Classical Sanskrit section of the All-India Oriental Conference, 23rd session, Aligarh, October, 1966.

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and 1457 (*i.e.* between 1478 and 1535 A.D.). He also utilized in the preface to the V. K. K. the concluding verse of the *Jyotiṣmatī*, an unpublished astronomical work of the author's father, Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa, from a MS. of the same, preserved in the custody of one of their descendants, which definitely states 4613 of the Kali era, corresponding to 1512-13 of the Christian era, to be the date of composition of *Jyotiṣmatī*.

2. The late Rai Bahadur Manmohan Chakravarti,[2] MM. Dr. P. V. Kane,[3] Dr. R. C. Hazrā[4] and Dr. S. C. Banerji[5] in their respective papers or chapters on Govindānanda, simply overlooked or partially utilized the two pieces of useful information, regarding Govindānanda's date collected by the editor from the *Jyotiṣmatī* and *Śuddhikaumudī*. Curiously enough, Dr. Banerji made the assertion, viz. 'nothing is definitely known about Govindānanda's date.'[6] None of the above four scholars, however, cared to attach any importance to the *Kriyākaumudī* information, though all of them, except the Bombay scholar, Dr. Kane, were in a position to do so by consulting the Asiatic Society MS. of the above work for the purpose of corroboration of the editor's information.

3. It remained for Dr. Miss Vāṇī Chakravarti of Calcutta to hunt up the three *Kriyākaumudī* quotations in the *Āhnikatattva* and identify[7] them in the MS. of the former

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2. Contributions to the History of Smṛti in Bengal and Mithilā, *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XI (1915), pp. 311–406.

3. *History of Dharmaśātra*, Vol. I, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1930.

4. "Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya," *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras* (1951), Vol, XVIII, part II, pp. 97–108.

5. *Smṛtiśāstre Bāṅgālī* (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1961-62.

6. *Saṃskṛta Sāhitye Bāṅgālīr Dāna* (in Bengali), Calcutta.

7. pp. 99-100.

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work (folios 7, 8 and 34, No. I. B. 57) in her doctoral dissertation in Bengali, viz. *Samāja-saṁskāraka Raghunandana,* published in 1964. She has also corrected the misconception of the editor by unearthing the existence of a MS. (No. G. 8682) in the Asiatic Society Library of the *Varṣakṛtya* of Vācaspati Miśra and identifying[8] the quotatons from it in several works of Raghunandana (folios 12, 38, 46 and 53).

4. The present writer has also shown[9] that one quotation at least from the *Varṣakṛtya* in the *Malamāsatattva* (p. 823 of Jīvānanda's edition), prefaced as it is by the words 'Vidyāpati—Kṛta—Varṣakṛtya,' definitely refers to a *Varṣakṛtya* by Vidyāpati, the famous Maithila poet and Dharmasāstra writer. Govindānanda's Śr. K. K. (p. 559) contains the following piece of relevant information, viz. *prayogastu Kriyākaumudyāṁ draṣṭavyaḥ* (i.e. the procedure in question is to be looked for in the *Kriyākaumudī*). This precious piece of information, mostly ignored or explained away by the above scholars, has been recently acted upon by the present writer, who has found out the relevant procedure on folio 36 of the Asiatic Society MS.

5. To sum up:—

(a) Govindānanda's father, Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa's *Jyotiṣmatī* was composed in 1512-13 A.D.

(b) Govindānanda's *Śuddhikaumudī* was composed just after 1535 A.D., as it records intercalary months up to that year.

8. p. 101.

9. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, Vol. XXXI (1951), p. 303.

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(c) The *Śuddhikaumudi* quotes the *Dānakriyākaumudī,* which quotes no other work of the author.

(d) The *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī* quotes the D. K. K., Ś. K. and *Kriyākaumudī.*

(e) The *Varṣakriyākaumudī* quotes the Śr. K. K. and Ś. K. So it seems to be his last *nibandha.*

(f) As our author wrote the Ś. K. just after 1535 A.D., when the D. K. K. had already been composed and the composition of the *Kriyākaumudī,* Śr. K. K. and V. K. K. followed that of the Ś.K., so it can be safely assumed that the period of our author's literary activity extended between 1510 and 1550 A.D. The earlier limit has been fixed by the date of composition of the author's father's work, the *Jyotiṣmatī,* viz. 1512-13 A.D., which must have taken place in the mature age of the latter, as is evident from its concluding verse, recording that date, and which probably marks the beginning of the literary career of the son, who thereafter composed the D.K.K. and several commentaries, including those on the *Prāyaścittaviveka* and *Śrāddhaviveka* of Śūlapāṇi, during the interval between 1510 A.D. and 1535 A.D.

(g) Raghunandana's quoting several times from the *Varṣakṛtya* of Vācaspati Miśra without mentioning his name proves that Vācaspati's work was too well-known in Raghunandana's time to need specific mention of the author's name. But his quoting once from the *Varṣakṛtya* of Vidyāpati by prefixing the author's name was simply to avoid confusion with the work of the same name by another well-known author. Raghunandana has also quoted several times from other works of Vācaspati and sometimes with the mention of his name. But his only thrice quoting from one work only of Govindānanda without naming him points to the conclusion that the latter was a senior contemporary of the

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former, who did not wish to give prominence to him. This conclusion also confirms Govindānanda's date, arrived at by us from other considerations, as Raghunandana's date has been fixed to be between 1520 and 1575 A.D.[10]

10. Vide p. 102 of Dr. Miss Vāṇī's book.

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IDEALISTIC LOYALISM IN THE SMṚTIS

By SHIVAJI SINGH*

After restoring about a thousand verses of Kātyāyana from about a score of rare commentaries and digests, Professor P. V. Kane discovered, much against his expectations, a peculiar behaviour of Kātyāyana. He expressed his astonishment in the following words: 'That Kātyāyana nowhere expressly mentions Nārada or Kauṭilya is a matter of great surprise, specially when he mentions Bhṛgu and Bṛhaspati a dozen times or more. No reason can be assigned for this omission.'[1] Three alternative situations can possibly be imagined under which to account for this omission:

1. that the Kātyāyana-smṛti is entirely earlier than that of Nārada and hence the question of any borrowings from Nārada and its acknowledgement by Kātyāyana does not arise;

2. that though Kātyāyana-smṛti was composed after Nārada yet he was not familiar with Nārada-smṛti and consequently did not borrow from it;

3. that Kātyāyana is familiar with the code of Nārada and has borrowed from it but, due to certain reasons, he is unwilling to refer to him by name.

The first alternative may be summarily rejected, as it is agreed on all hands that Kātyāyana is later than Nārada and Bṛhaspati. Moreover, this alternative fails to account

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1. Kane, P. V.: *Kātyāyana-smṛtisāroddhāra*, p. xii.

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for the omission of Kauṭilya's name who flourished centuries before him and whose *Arthaśāstra* has been undoubtedly utilized by him as is clear from a comparision of the following texts of the two works:

Kauṭilya's Arthaśātra	*Kātyāyana-smṛti*
तपस्विनां तु कार्याणि त्रैविद्यैस्सह कारयेत् । मायायोगविदां चैव न स्वयं कोपकारणात् ॥ कौ० I. 19.	तपस्विनां तु कार्याणि त्रैविद्यैरेव कारयेत् । मायायोगविदां चैव न स्वयं कोपकारणात् का० V. 83.
जीवद्विभागे पिता नैकं विशेषयेत् । न चैकमकारणान्निर्विभजेत् ॥ कौ० III. 5.	जीवद्विभागे तु पिता नैकं पुत्रं विशेषयेत् निर्भाजयेन्न चैवैकमकस्मात् कारणं विना का० V. 843.
देशस्य जात्याः सङ्घस्य धर्मो ग्रामस्य वाऽपि यः उचितस्तस्य तेनैव दायधर्मं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ कौ० III. 7.	देशस्य जाते संघस्य धर्मो ग्रामस्य यो भृगुः । उदितः स्यात् स तेनैव दायभागं प्रकल्पयेत्॥ का० V. 884A.

The second alternative also does not stand the test. Kātyāyana is definitely indebted to Nārada whose Smṛti has been used and elaborated by him. Professor Kane has ably illustrated this point and has shown how the information supplied by Kātyāyana about the four *pādas* of *Vyavahāra*, the five kinds of *hīnavādins*, the incompetent witnesses: *sanābhi* and *rājapuruṣa*, the gifts: *bhṛtiḥ* and *pratyupakārataḥ*, the slaves: *pravājyāvasita* and *anākālabhṛta* are clearly based on those of Nārada. 'These examples leave no room for doubt,' concludes the learned Professor, 'that Kātyāyana had before him the work of Nārada and tried to elucidate and elaborate the laconic treatment of law in it.'[2] We are, therefore, left with the third alternative only, that is, Kātyāyana, though indebted to Nārada, is unwilling to refer to him by name. What might have been the reason for this unwillingness? Why has Kātyāyana not acknowledged his indebtedness to Nārada. Can we visualize that mental working of

2. *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

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Kātyāyana, conscious or unconscious, which made this omission possible? Is some kind of sectionalism responsible for it?

It is true that there is general unity of approach among the Smṛtis towards the problems of society and the place of individual in it. This unity has produced homogenity and justifies the common name 'Smṛti' or 'Dharmaśāstra' for all of them. Nevertheless, the pressures of time and locality has made their attitude dynamic and has created sharp distinctions in their likes and dislikes. The different and often contradictory views found in the Smṛtis were soon estimated as a problem by the Smṛti-writers themselves who tried to solve it in accordance with their individual outlook. Parāśara tried to justify the difference as a historical necessity and declared that different Smṛtis were authoritative for different ages; and Manu, Gautama, Śaṅkha-Likhita and Parāśara were thought to represent the spirit respectively of *Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara* and *Kali*[3] ages. But this attitude, though historical, betrays a sense of sectionalism inasmuch as it rejects all other Smṛtis in favour of four only. Some more conscientious writers tried to combat this dangerous outlook which neglected the majority for a chosen minority and brushed aside reason for emotional sectionalism. Vyāsa warned not to decide things before due consideration is given both to the majority view and the reasonability in the matter.[4] But in spite of such oppositions, the forces of sectionalism caught

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3. कृते तु मानवा धर्मास्त्रेतायां गौतमः स्मृतः ।
द्वापरे शंखलिखितौ कलौ पराशरः स्मृतः ।।
PS, 1.23.

PS stands for *Parāśara-smṛti;* other abbreviations used are: BS=*Bṛhaspati-smṛti;* KA=*Kauṭilīya-arthaśāstram;* KS=*Kātyāyana-smṛti;* MS=*Manu-smṛti;* NMS=*Nāradīya-Manu-saṁhitā;* NS=*Nārada-smṛti;* YS=*Yājñāvalkya-smṛti.*

4. तस्माद्विरोधे धर्मस्य निश्चित्य गुरुलाघवम् ।
यतो भूयस्ततो विद्वान् कुर्याद्धर्मविनिर्णयम् ।।
Vyāsa, quoted in *Smṛticandrikā,* I. p. 17.

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hold on the minds of several Smṛti-writers. Bṛhaspati took a bold stand and declared that the Smṛtis, which are anti-Manu in outlook, are not praise-worthy.[5] 'The *Śāstras*, Logic and Grammar shine,' says he, 'only till Manu, the expounder of *Dharma, Artha* and *Mokṣa,* is not there.'[6] Kātyāyana, who considered Bṛhaspati as his model, seems to suffer from a similar idealistic loyalism.

A comparative study of the Smṛtis reveals that on several issues of great socio-religious significance, Nārada revolts aganst the tradition of Manu. He is more in line with Kauṭilya, whereas Bṛhaspati and his follower Kātyāyana expressly acknowledge the authority of Manu and dare not express anything against him without a sugar-coating. We may illustrate this point by a few examples.

The attitude of Manu towards gambling is severe and unyielding. Gambling is 'open theft,' 'a source of harassment' and 'a cause of the destruction of the state.' The king 'should save the kingdom from gambling.'[7] He should punish all those who engage themselves in gambling with capital punishment.'[8] The wise should not resort to gambling even for amusement for it has been a source of great enmities in ancient times.[9] As against this, Nārada permits gambling under state control and makes it a source of

5. मन्वर्थविपरीता तु या स्मृतिः सा न शस्यते ।।
BS. *Sanskārakāṇḍam,* v. 13.

6. तावच्छास्त्राणि शोभन्ते तर्कव्याकरणानि च ।
धर्मार्थमोक्षोपदेष्टा मनुर्यावन्न दृश्यते ।।
Ibid., v. 12.

7. MS., IX. 221-222 & 226.

8. Ibid., IX. 224.

9. द्यूतमेतत्पुराकल्पे दृष्टं वैरकरं महत् ।
तस्माद्द्यूतं न सेवेत हास्यार्थमपि बुद्धिमान् ।।
Ibid., IX. 227.

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state revenue.[10] Nārada, like Yājñavalkya, seems to have inherited this practical attitude from Kauṭilya.[11] On the other hand, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana have not been able to forget the prohibitive injunction of Manu though they have considerably yielded in the face of the popular practice. "Gambling that causes loss of truth, purity and wealth," recollects Bṛhaspati, "was forbidden by Manu, but others[12] allowed it because it yielded revenue to the king and it led to the detection of thieves."[13] Kātyāyana in perfect harmony with Manu says: "One should not resort to gambling which inflames the passions and greed, which engenders bad characters, which is cruel and causes loss of wealth to men. Since strife is certain (to follow) from gambling just as poison (is sure to issue forth) from the mouth of a serpent, the king should stop this vice in his country."[14] Further he says: "If it (gambling) has to remain, he (the king) should allow it to be done openly with an arch erected near the door (of the gambling hall) in order that respectable people may not be mistaken (about the real nature) and he should make it yield revenue."[15] Both, the reluctance shown in allowing the practice of gambling as well as the emphasis laid by him on precautionary measures to be taken if the practice is allowed, are significant and indicate the mental struggle he has to face in adjusting such laws in ac-

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10. अथवा कितवा राज्ञे दत्त्वा भागं यथोचितम्।
प्रकाशं देवनं कुर्युरेवं दोषो न विद्यते ॥
NS, XIX. 8.
11. द्यूताध्यक्षो द्यूतमेकमुखं कारयेत्। अन्यत्र दीव्यतो द्वादश पणो दण्डः; गूढाजीविज्ञापनार्थम् ।
KA, III. 20. See also YS, II. 203.
12. It is significant to note that he does not name them.
13. BS, Vyavahārakāṇḍam, 27. 1-2.
14. KS, vv. 933-934.
15. Ibid., v. 935.

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cordance with the times which go against his idealistic loyality to the tradition of Manu.

Manu has condemned *niyoga* in unequivocal terms. 'No twice-born should take recourse to *niyoga* for it destroys the eternal *Dharma*. It is nowhere mentioned in the *mantras* of marriage. Wise people call it *paśudharma* (animal practice) and condemn it. The practice was started in the reign of king Vena, whose conscience was killed by *Kāma*.'[16] As against this, Nārada accepts the custom and gives rules only to check the misuse of the practice.[17] Yājñavalkya insists that the sanction of the family must be obtained for following this practice, and opines that a *kṣetraja* son begotten after due authorization of the family, is as good as the *aurasa*.[18] It is clear that on this point, the attitude of Yājñavalkya and Nārada is quite different from that of Manu and is, actually, in line with that of Kauṭilya.[19] Bṛhaspati, as usual, goes back to Manu and disallows the

16. MS., IX. 64–67.
17. अनुत्पन्नप्रजायास्तु पतिः प्रेयाद्यदि स्त्रियाः ।
नियुक्ता गुरुभिर्गच्छेद्देवरं पुत्रकाम्यया ।।
स च तां प्रतिपद्येत तथैवापुत्रजन्मतः ।
पुत्रे जाते निवर्तेत संकरस्स्यादतोन्यथा ।।
कुले तदवशेषे हि सन्तानार्थं न कामतः ।
स्त्रियं पुत्रवतीं वन्ध्यां नीरजस्कामनिच्छन्तीम् ।।
न गच्छेद् गर्भिणीं निन्द्यामनियुक्तां च बन्धुभिः ।
अनियुक्ता तु या नारी देवराज्जनयेत्सुतम् ।।
NS, XII. 80–83.
18. YS, II. 127-128.
19. तेषां च कृतदाराणां लुप्ते प्रजनने सति ।
सृजेयुः बान्धवाः पुत्रांस्तेषामंशं प्रकल्पयेत् ।।
क्षेत्रे वा जनयेदस्य नियुक्तः क्षेत्रजं सुतम् ।
मातृबन्धुस्सगोत्रो वा तस्मै तत् प्रदिशेद्धनम् ।।
KA, III, 5 and 6.

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custom.[20] Kātyāyana goes a step further and does not mention the practice at all. A verse of Kātyāyana[21] in which it is said that the fruits produced by a person in the field of another with the latter's consent belongs to both of them, is taken by Professor Kane to refer to the practice of *niyoga*, but there is nothing in the said verse to warrant such a conclusion.

Manu and Nārada are found to have opposite views on the marriage of widows. Manu is against the re-marriage of widows. He has expressed strong dislike against this practice. "Nowhere," says he, "is a second husband prescribed for virtuous women."[22] "The Vedic *mantras* of *pāṇigrahaṇa*," he continues, "are applicable to a maiden only."[23] "A maiden," he further emphasizes, "can be given in marriage only once."[24] "The injunctions on marriage," says he, "nowhere mention the marriage of widows."[25] He makes a concession in the case of *Akṣatayonis* (a lady whose

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20. उक्त्वा नियोगो मनुना निषिद्धः स्वयमेव तु।
युगह्रासादशक्योऽयं कर्तुं सर्वैर्विधानतः॥
तपोज्ञानसमायुक्ताः कृते त्रेतायुगे नराः।
द्वापरे च कलौ नृणां शक्तिहानिर्विनिर्मिता॥
BS, Vyavahārakāṇḍam, 25, 16-17.

21. क्षेत्रिकस्य मतेनापि फलमुत्पादयेत्तु यः।
तस्येह भागिनौ तौ तु न फलं हि विनैकतः॥
KS, V. 859.

22. न द्वितीयश्च साध्वीनां क्वचिद्भर्तोपदिश्यते॥
MS, V. 162.

23. पाणिग्रहणिकामन्त्राः कन्यास्वेव प्रतिष्ठिताः।
नाकन्यासु क्वचिन्नृणां लुप्तधर्मक्रियाहिताः॥
Ibid., VIII. 226.

24. सकृदंशो निपतति सकृत्कन्या प्रदीयते।
Ibid., IX. 47.

25. न विवाहविध वुक्तं विधवावेदनं पुनः॥
Ibid., IX. 65.

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marriage has not been consummated and who is still a virgin[26]) but his view regarding the marriage of widows is unyielding. On the other hand, Nārada clearly prescribes the re-marriage of widows. "Another husband," says he, "is ordained for women in five calamities, namely, when the husband is lost, is dead, has become a *samnyāsin,* is impotent or is *patita.*"[27]

The above discussions make it clear that on several aspects of law and custom, Nārada revolts against the tradition of Manu. As a matter of fact, Nārada is less idealistic and more practical. Although an author of *dharmaśāstra,* he is more inclined towards the *arthaśāstric* traditions. He goes on to the extent of expressing, of course in sugar-coated words, a feeling against taking *Dharma* to be more important than *Vyavahāra.* "Vyavahara is powerful," says he, "and *Dharma is belittled by it.*"[28] That it is not merely a confession of factual position but also an ideological approach of Nārada is made clear when he says: *"Dharma* is subtle, indirect and difficult to be arrived at and, therefore, one should follow *Vyavahāra* which is directly known."[29]

The originality of approach found in Nāradasmṛti and his clear revolt against the tradition contained in the Bhārgava version of the Manu-smṛti, was not liked by Bṛhaspati, whose manifest obligation and loyalty to Manu is so well-

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26. Ibid., IX. 176.
27. नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे च पतितौ पतौ ।
    पञ्चत्स्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥
    NMS, Strīpuṁsa, v. 97.
28. व्यवहारो हि बलवान् धर्मस्तेनापचीयते ॥
    Ibid., *Vyavahāradarśana,* v. 34.
29. सूक्ष्मो हि भगवान्धर्मः परोक्षो दुर्विचारिणः ।
    अतः प्रत्यक्षमार्गेण व्यवहारगतिं नयेत् ॥
    NS, 1. 41.

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known.[30] Kātyāyana stands in the same relation to Bṛhaspati as Bṛhaspati to Manu. As pointed out by Professor Kane, 'Kātyāyana looked upon Bṛhaspati as a model and as an author whose dicta were entitled to respect.'[31] Like his model, Kātyāyana too had a great respect for the tradition of Manu and he did not have much respect for Smṛtis like that of Nārada which had the tendencies to revolt against the tradition held sacred by him. It is in the context of this idealistic loyalism that the verse of Bṛhaspati to the effect that 'no authority attaches to the Smṛtis which are contradictory to that of Manu' becomes meaningful. It is in the light of this idealistic loyalism, again, that one should find out the reason why Kātyāyana does not expressly mention Nārada and Kauṭilya although he has before him their works which he utilizes in the composition of his Smṛti.

30. Aiyangar, K. V. R.: *Bṛhaspati-smṛti* (Reconstructed), introduction, pp. 119—135.

31. Kane, P. V.: *op. cit.*, p. xi.

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BUDDHIST ĀTMAVĀDA AND ASAṄGA†

By KARUNESHA SHUKLA*

I

Ātmavāda has been mentioned in the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* of Ācārya Asaṅga, the celebrated Mahāyāna teacher, as a theory not acceptable to Buddhists as a final truth. There are several theories prevalent in other systems which are not accepted by Buddhists and hence their nomenclature 'dogmatic views' (dṛṣṭis) or heretical theories. Ātmavāda has been mentioned as one of such theories.[1] Let it be clear at the very outset that Ātmavāda (theory of the Soul) does not imply the Buddhists' refutation of the Upaniṣadic Ātma-

† The following abbreviations have been used hereunder except those generally accepted:

YBS=*Yogācārabhumiśāstra*, CPB=*The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, CHI=*The Cultural Heritage of India*, P.O.=*Poona Orientalist*, ASPP=*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, PP=*Prajñāpāramitās*. MSS=*Mahāyāna Sūtra Saṁgraha;* MSA=*Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṁkāra of Asaṅga;* Mādh. kā=*Mādhyamika Kārikās of Nāgārjuna;* references to Pāli Tripiṭaka refer volumes and pages of the Nāgarī Edition, Nālandā Institute, 1956–58.

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1. *YBS of Asaṅga*, Part I, Ed. by Mm. Pt. Vidhuśekhara Bhattacharya, Calcutta, 1957, p. 118.

षोडश इमे परवादाः। तद्यथा। हेतुफलसद्वादः। अभिव्यक्तिवादः। अतीतानागतद्रव्यसद्वादः। आत्मवादः। शाश्वतवादः। पूर्वकृतहेतुसद्वादः। ईश्वरादिकर्तृकवादः। विहिंसाधर्मवादः। अन्तानन्तिकवादः। अमराविक्षेपवादः। अहेतुवादः। उच्छेदवादः। अग्रवादः। शुद्धिवादः। कौतुकमंगलवादश्च ॥

Several of these theories might be seen in the sixty two dṛṣṭis enumerated in the *Brahmajālasutta* (*D.N.I.* I. 11). and in the doctrines preached by the six heretical teachers.

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doctrine,[2] but it simply means the conceived identity of Ātman with the five constituent aggregates of the human personality (Upādāna-skandhas), otherwise known as Sat-kāya-dṛṣṭi[3] which is often refuted in the Buddhist works. Buddha and the Buddhists tried to refute, repudiate or negate this conceived identity (vikalpitam maikyaṁ) of human soul and not its very existence, as is often supposed.[4]

II

Originally, Buddha was not concerned with the existence of Ātman and its negation, but he simply negated its identification with the body, the senses and the five skandhas.[5] He did not aim at the refutation of the Upaniṣadic philosophy and its ātma-ideology or substance-view. Similarly, he did not start any new tradition called the anātma-tradition in Indian philosophical thought.[6] This is testified by the numerous statements ascribed to Buddha scattered in the extant Tripiṭakas.[7] Buddha has nowhere in his

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2. T.R.V. Murti, C.P.B, Ch. I–II, CHI, I. 27–30; V. Bhattacharya, ibid I. 565, III. 259, The *Basic Conception of Buddhism*, P. 70, 95 (quoted in CPB); N. Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, I (1941), P. 86, 92; cp. Śānti Bhikṣu, *Māhāyāna*, Intro. P. 2; Stecherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, I. 4–7, *The Soul Theory of Buddhists*, P. 824-25.

3. Cp. B. M. Barua, *Ceylon Lectuers*, 1945, P. VIII, IX.

4. See our *Ātman in Buddhist Philosophy*, Ch. II, P.O., XXVII, Nos. 3-4, P. 114–132 (partly published).

5. 'न सो मे अत्ता' *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, II 271, 281, 296 etc.; *Majjhima* N.I. 369; II 243, 278, 325, 335, 395; *Dhaṁma Saṅgaṇi*, P. 232, 268 etc; cp. *Mahā vagga*, P. 16-17; cp. *Khuddaka N.I.*, 386 (dvayatānupassana Sutta):

अनत्तनि अत्तमानि च पस्स लोकं सदेवकं ।
निविट्ठं नामरूपस्मिं इदं सच्चं ति मञ्ञति ।।
येन येन हि मञ्ञन्ति ततो तं होति अञ्ञथा ।
तञ्हि तस्स मुसा होति मोसधम्मम्हि इत्तरं ।।

6. As supposed by Prof. Murti (as quoted in supra, fn. 2).

7. One may be referred to on this point to a paper read by me before the XXVI *International Congress* of Orientalists, Delhi, 1964: "Atman in Buddhist Philosophy: View-point of the Buddha."

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teachings clearly refuted the doctrines of the Upaniṣads directly or indirectly, but he accepted the way, the philosophic spirit and the eliminative method of the Upaniṣads[8] and thus stressed upon the miserable, mutable and the non-self-character (Ātma-vyatiriktatva) of the visible and the invisible worlds (loka).[9] Following the eliminative method, he analysed the mind and its states and preached the Noble Aryan Way leading to Nirvāṇa and beneficient to gods and men alike, which stressed upon the cessation of suffering and eradication of its -causes. In Buddha's view-point enunciated in the Tripitakas, mere cessation of suffering through right conduct, contemplation and intuitive insight (śīla, samādhi and prajñā) is not the sole aim of our life, but self-realisation, nibbāna (nirvāṇa)[10] and realisation of the true nature of dharmatā which is realised in our innermost (pratyātmavedya dharmatā) are the Summum Bonum

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8. See, Lakṣmaṇa Shāstrī Joshī, *Vaidika Saṁskṛti Kā Vikāsa*, Bombay, 1957, P. 197 f; cp. Bahadur Mall's work on *Upaniṣads and Buddhism* (Hoshiarpur, 1960), Oldenberg, *Buddha*, (Hoey's *Translation*, 1880) P. 56; Our Unpub. thesis (Hindi): *Comparative Studies in Śaṁkara and Nāgārjuna*, Ch. VII; cp. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, P. 83–85; P.O., op. cit., P. 118–123.

9. Dukkha, anicca, anatta. cp.

"तं किं मञ्ञथ भिक्खवे रूपं निच्चं वा अनिच्चं वा ? अनिच्चं भन्ते। यं पनानिच्चं दुक्खं वा तं सुखं वा ति ? दुक्खं भन्ते। यं पनानिच्चं दुक्खं वा तं सुखं वा ति ? दुक्खं भन्ते। यं पनानिच्चं दुक्खं विपरिणामधम्मं कल्लं नु तं समनुपस्सितुं एतं मम एसो मे अत्ता ति ? नो हेतं भन्ते.....

M.N. II. 81, 195–97; *S.N.* II, 295-6, 333, 338–341 etc., P. 358–60 and specially:

फेनपिण्डूपमं रूपं वेदना बुब्बुळूपमा।
मरीचिकूपमा सञ्ञा, संखारा कदलूपमा॥
मायूपमञ्च विञ्ञाणं देसितादिच्चबन्धुना॥

cp. *M.N.* I., 184-84, 236-37; *D.N.* II, 120-21, 53 f., *A.N.* IV, 186

10. cp. निब्बानं परमं सुखं,

cp. also *D.N.* I, 190, II. 29, 30, 167, 17.

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of our life. It was, therefore, but natural for Buddha to give no importance to the conceptions of the Vedic vidhis of Karmakāṇḍa, attainment of immortality, identification with the devas[11] and realization of the supra-physical entities.[12] Naturally, he did not stress upon the existence of Ātman and the analysis of its nature, but he emphasised the elimination and eradication of the conceived identities of the human soul in the form of the five constituent aggregates of our living personality.[13] Similarly, he stressed upon the elimination of different dogmatic view-points (diṭṭhis) regarding the Ultimate Truth in various ways,[14] as well as of the egoistic tendencies, attachment and the like conceiving the body and the senses, the aggregates and the innersense (antaḥkaraṇa) as Ātman, which is caused by avidyā (nescience) and intiated by the trinity of attachment, envy and sloth (rāga, dveṣa and moha), which can only be eliminated through discrimination of the aggregates as non-intrinsic

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11. cp. *RV*. VIII, 48. 3.

12. See D. N. Tevijja and the *Kūṭadantasuttas*.

13. इध अस्सुतवा पुथुज्जनो अरियानं अदस्सावी अरियधम्मस्स अकोविदो अरियधम्मे अविनीतो सप्पुरिसानं अदस्सावी सप्पुरिसधम्मस्स अकोविदो सप्पुरिसधम्मे अविनीतो—— रूपं अत्ततो समनुपस्सति, रूपवन्तं वा अत्तानं अत्तनिवा रूपं, रूपस्मिं वा अत्तानं। 'अहं रूपं', 'मम रूपं' ति परियुट्ठायी होति। तस्स अहं रूपं, मम रूपं' ति परियुट्ठायिनो तं रूपं विपरिणमति अञ्ञाथा होति।———वेदनं अत्ततो समनुपस्सति———सञ्ञा——— संखारे——विञ्ञाणं अत्ततो समनुपस्सति——

S.N. II, 243, 278, 325, 335, 395; *Dhamma Saṅgaṇi*, P. 232, 268, etc.; See above, fn. 9 and *Mahāfagga*, (Vinaya) P. 16-17; cp. also

रुपं भिवख्वे अनत्ता। योपि हेतु योपि पच्चयो रूपस्य उप्पादाय सोपि अनत्ता। अनत्तसम्भूतं——रूपं कुतो अत्ता भविस्सति। वेदना——सञ्ञा——संखारे——विञ्ञाणं——

S.N. II, 260; See also P. 257–59, 305, 295 etc.

M.N. III, 81. cp. also भारहार सुत्तं, *S.N.* II. 261, (Sanskrit Version of the same is quoted in *Nyāya Vārtikam*, III–1. 1 with some variation).

14. See *Brahmajālasutta*, *D. N.* I. I. I; S.N. II 259 etc.; *M.N.* I. 241, 382, 193, *Dh. S.*, P. 232, 268, etc.

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(anatta).[15] All phenomenal existents (dharmas) are like momentary flashes, mutable, of the nature of suffering, fabricated by nescience, illusory, mirage-like and destitute of any real and intrinsic nature (anātma).

And contrary to this, the truth (Tattva) is of the nature of dharmatā realised in our innermost, knowable by a few people endowed with intuitive and discrminative insight, subtle and sublime, exalted and lofty and difficult to be known.[18] This Tattva or Dharmatā might be said to be identical with the Ātman and it also seems that Buddha aimed at propounding this Transcendent character of Ātman and while expounding the Ātman (attā) or the anattā, he simply signified the no-soul or non-intrinsic character of the phenomenal existents (dhammā) as well as the identified being (purisa-puggala).

III

This view-point of Buddha has found full and vivid exposition in the Mahāyāna sūtras, the Prajñāpāramitās, the Ābhidharmic Śāstras as well as in the works of the Yogācāra and the Mādhyamika schools.

In the Prajñāpāramitās and the Mahāyānasūtras this anātmavāda has been conceived as a truth related not only to the 'human egoism' (pudgala-nairātmya), but also to the

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15. cp. *S.N.* II, 374, 375, IV. 9, 209; *M.N.* II, 179, 181; *Khuddakapāṭha* (S.N. I), P. 8.

16. See. Supra fn. 9.

17. प्रत्यात्मवेदनीयधर्मता (Pali— पच्चत्त वेदनीया धम्मता)

18. इमे खो भिक्खवे धम्मा गंभीरा दुद्दसा दुरनुबोधा सन्ता पणीता अतक्कावचरा निपुणा पण्डितवेदनीया,

D.N. I, 16, 21, 23, 27, 34; cp. *M.N.* II, 180, 232; cp. Sn., P. 444 (Vs. 18), P. 445 (Vs. 20. 21).

F 5

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phenomenal existents (dharma-nairātmya).[19] In the ASPP, all phenomenality including the five constituents of our individuality have been said to be non-originated (anutpanna) and thus non-intrinsic in their nature.[20] Ego is the root-cause of worldly migration and transmigration[21] and the ātmadṛṣṭi or conceiving the body and the like as Ātman (svakāya or satkāya, cp. LV, XIII 106) is caused by this ego-conception or appropriately speaking, by avidyā. The whole range of Buddhist Āgamas centres round the eradication of these dogmatic conceptions and viewpoints which are caused by nescience, through śūnyatā.[22] In the Prajñā-

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19. Thus all dharmas have been said to be non-intrinsic (Nirātma), niḥ-swabhāva and Śūnya. See *Samādhirāja sūtra,* 61, 16, 37; *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā,* Vs. 52, 166; cp. *L.S.* X, 502-3, 628, 202, नैरात्म्यं द्वयं *ibid* III. 5, X. 4, 638; cp. *ASPP,* P. 170–17, 136, P. 14; cp. LV, P. 17 Vs. 14, cp. MSS I (Ratnaguṇa Saṁcaya gāthā) XXII, 4.

20. *ASPP,* P. 126, 13, 5, 6, 126. cp. also P. 235–7; 239, cp. LN. XIII 95–117; See also *P.* 192, 196, 197, 198. *S.S. P.* 129; 14–22, *MSSI* (Ratnaguṇasaṁcayagāḍha), I. 8, 9, cp. XVIII, 2, XX, 1, cp. *ibid* (*Suvikrāntavikramiparipṛcchā*) P. 47, 54.

21. cp. Āryatathāgatagulyasūtra, quoted in S.S. :
दीपतैलं क्षयं याति क्षीयमाणं न लक्ष्यते ।
एवं भावा न लक्ष्यन्ते क्षीयमाणाः प्रतिक्षणम् ।।
सन्तानः समुदायश्च पंक्तिसेनादिवन्मृषा ।
तत्राभ्यासादहंकारः परस्मिन् किं न जायते ।।
तस्मादेवं जगत् ज्ञेयं यथायतनसंचयः । (on P. 192)
अप्राप्तमेव तद्दुःखं प्रतिकार्यं परात्मनोः ।।
आत्मतृष्णा च सर्वेषां दुःखानां मूलमुत्तमम् ।
तस्मान्निहन्मि तामेव सत्त्वेभ्यः स्वार्थमुत्सृजन् ।।
तदग्रदूती ज्ञातेच्छा जेतव्या सर्वयत्नतः ।
आत्मतत्त्वस्मृतिं कृत्वा प्रतीत्योत्पादचिन्तया ।। (on page 193) ;
cp. *ASPP,* P. 198, lines–26–32....
अहंकारेण ममकारेण च सत्त्वाः संसारे संसरन्ति

22. See MSS I, P. 2–5 (Sārdhadvisāhasrikā PP) :
प्रज्ञा श्रेष्ठा हि लोकस्य येयं निर्वेधगामिनी ।
यया सम्यक् प्रजानाति भवजातिपरिक्षयम् ।।

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pāramitās, the question of the existence of ātman has not been tackled, but only its false phenomenal conceptions have been questioned. The *Mahāyānasūtras* lay emphasis on this aspect of Buddha's teachings and do not negate the existence of the Transcendental Ātman. There, the word Ātman has been used in different senses, including those of the Transcendental Reality, the Ego-consciousness and the persisting individuality in the form of our phenomenal existence. And mostly where the existence of Ātman or sattva has been negated,[23] this phenomenal aspect of Ātman has been referred to and not its transcendental aspect. It is in this transcendental sense that the existence of Ātman has been stressed upon in the Prajñāpāramitās and the Mahāyānasūtras and it has been equated with Buddha and the dharma.[24]

Taking into consideration this aspect of the problem, it might be said that the Ātmavāda is the theory of conceiving the non-intrinsic and phenomenal existents as the Transcendental Ātman and Buddha and the Buddhists refuted and repudiated this aspect of the problem and propounded the nairātmya-doctrine, otherwise, at the transceendental plane. Buddha taught neither the Ātman nor the anātman.[25]

See also P. 23, 29, 30, 37-38; see also *S.R.S.* 32/214; 38/12; 91; P. 300; cp. *ASPP,* P. 9-10, 6, cp. *Mādhyamika Kā,* XIII 8; cp. ASPP, *P.* 74–76 etc.

23. For example, *LV.*, P. 174, Vs. 14; *ASPP*, P. 14 LS X 60, 135 and elsewhere.

24. cp. *ASPP*, P. 149, 152, cp. *MSS* I (Suvikrāntavikramaparipṛcchā), P. 11 :

यो हि अद्वयमात्मानं प्रजानाति स बुद्धं धर्मं च प्रजानाति। तत्कस्य हेतोः। आत्मभावं स भावयति सर्वधर्माणाम्। येन अद्वयपरिज्ञया सर्वधर्माः परिज्ञाताः। आत्मस्वभावनियता हि सर्वधर्माः। यो हि अद्वयधर्मं प्रजानीते स बुद्धधर्मान् प्रजानीते। अद्वयधर्मपरिज्ञया बुद्धधर्मपरिज्ञा, आत्मपरिज्ञया सर्वत्रैधातुकपरिज्ञा। आत्मपरिज्ञेति सुविक्रान्तविक्रामिन् पारमेतत्सर्वधर्माणाम्।

cp. also *ibid* P. 347 (Saptaśatikā PP).

25. cp. *ASPP,* P. 18, cp. also *Suttanipāta,* IV. 14, 154, P. 411.

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IV

Asaṅga followed the above viewpoint of Buddha as enunciated in the *Mahāyānasūtras* and the *Prajñāpāramitās* and presented the Ātmavāda or the theory of soul in its entirity as maintained by the heretics (Non-Buddhists). Asaṅga seems to recognise that what people signify and conceive as Ātman is not the Transcendental soul, but is the empirical self motivated by attachment, envy and sloth and is represented by the ego-consciousness combined with the five constituent aggregates (upādānaskandhas) of our personality and it is in this sense that the Ātman is declared to be one with the jīva, sattva and pudgala. It would not be out of place to mention here the main arguments put forth by Asaṅga in order to examine and refute this (heretic) Ātmavāda.

The notion of Ātman might be (i) non-deliberately caused by appearance of the tendency of this notion of self (sattva-buddhi) as in the case of the unified experience of the fivefold constituent aggregates in the form of a self; or (ii) it might be deliberately caused through efforts, as in the case of the sense-experience. Our deliberate actions tend towards the good or bad deeds and their respective fruits.[26]

Asaṅga questions this argument of the heretic and says: whether the sense-experience and the notion of self are iden-

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26. *YBS*. P. 129-130.

अबुद्धिपूर्वं च सति सत्वबुद्धिप्रवृत्युपलब्धितः। बुद्धिपूर्वा च चेष्टोपलब्धितः। तस्यैवं भवति। स चेदात्मा स्यात्पञ्चभिराकारैः पञ्चविधवस्तुदर्शने सत्वात्मबुद्धिर्न प्रवर्तेत।—पञ्चसु वस्तुषु पञ्चाकारासत्वबुद्धिरेव प्रवर्तते न संस्कारबुद्धिः। तस्माद्बुद्धिपूर्वं तावदस्य दृष्ट्वा सत्वबुद्धिप्रत्युपलब्धित एवं भवत्यस्त्यात्मेति ॥–स चेदात्मा न स्यात् संस्कारेषु बुद्धिपूर्वा चेष्टोपलभ्येत। अहं चक्षुषा रूपाणि द्रक्ष्यामि पश्यामि दृष्टवान्। न वा द्रक्ष्यामीत्येवमभिसंस्कारपूर्वंगमं कृत्वा।—एवं कुशलकर्माभिसंस्कारे कुशलकर्मनिवृत्तौ अकुशलकर्माभिसंस्कारे कुशलकर्मनिवृतावित्येवमादिका बुद्धिपूर्वा चेष्टा नोपलभ्यते। न चैषा संस्कारमात्रे युज्यते। तस्मादेवं भवत्यस्त्यात्मेति।

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tical or different. If they are identical, then the self (Ātman) might be found or inferred in the matter (rūpa) and other aggregates that constitute our personality.[27] If self and the sense-experience are taken to be different, then it might be conceived as having some kind of form or other.[28]

In the same way, several other alternatives are put forth to examine this Ātmavada-doctrine.

(i) Whether this notion of Ātman (ātma-buddhi) is derived out of the nature of the phenomenal existents (dharma-svabhāvāt) or out of the nature of other objects also (para-svabhāvād api).

In the first alternative, there might be a kind of misapprehension between a thing seen and the seer and hence no conception of the notion of self (ātma-buddhi) is proper to be maintained.[29] If the second alternative is accepted, then anything might be produced out of anything and thus there might be no cause-effect-relation. Therefore, this too cannot be logically maintained.[30]

(ii) Whether this notion of the self is maintained in things other than self or the notion of non-self is maintained about things known as self. If this notion of self or non-self is produced about one-another, then there might be

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27. *Ibid.*, P. 130.
तेन रूपादिषु सत्त्व इति विपर्यासान्न युज्यतेऽस्त्यात्मेति।
28. *Ibid* loc. cit.
तेनाकृतिमानात्मेति न युज्यते। पतितोच्छ्रितः। क्षत्रियादिबालपण्डितो रूपादिषु विषयग्राहक आत्मेति न युज्यते।
29. *Ibid* P. 131.
तेन यदेव पश्यति तत्रैव विपर्यस्ता बुद्धिरित्यात्मबुद्धिर्न युज्यते।
30. *Ibid* loc. cit:
तेन सर्वविषयाः सर्वविषयबुद्धेः कारणीभवन्तीति न युज्यते।

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misapprehension and contamination of nature, what is self might be taken to be non-self and the vice-versa. And if such a misapprehended notion is not produced, then perception migh be sublated.[31]

(iii) Whether that notion of self contemplates the objects of perception or that of inference. If it accepts the objects of perception, it is determinately proved that the five aggregates are not the self. If the second alternative is accepted, then children and damsels too would be taken in the same category as the man (sattva). Thus also the separate existence of Ātman is not proved.[32]

(iv) Whether the effort (ceṣṭā) is voluntary and deliberate (buddhihetukā) or caused by self (sattva-hetukā). If it is voluntary, then it is inconsistent and improper to hold that the Ātman endeavours.[33] And if this endeavour is caused by the self itself, then it cannot be rational and deliberate and thus all actions would be aimless and without any determined purpose behind them.[34]

(v) Taking into consideration the cause of the effort, it might be conceived that it is eternal or non-eternal. If it is non-eternal, then a perverted and afflicted (savikāraḥ) ātman endeavours—this cannot be logically maintained.

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31. *Ibid*, P. 131:

कच्चिदिच्छसि असत्त्वसंख्याते सत्त्वसंख्यातबुद्धिं। सत्त्वसंख्याते वासत्वसंख्यातबुद्धिं। तदन्यसंख्याते पुनस्तदन्यसत्त्वसंख्यातबुद्धिमुत्पद्यमानां वा नो वा। स चेदुत्पद्यते तेनासत्त्वोऽपि सत्त्वः। सत्त्वोऽपि तदन्यसत्त्वो भवि यतीति न युज्यते। स चेन्नोत्पद्यते। प्रत्यक्षप्रमाणमपवदितं भवतीति युज्यते।

32. *Ibid.*, P. 131, lines 9–12.

33. *Ibid.*, P. 131. 14:

आत्मा चेष्टत इति न युज्यते।

34. *YBS* P. 131

स चेदात्महेतुका। बुद्धिपूर्वा चेष्टेति न युज्यते।

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And if it is assumed to be eternal, then also the Transcendental Soul cannot be conceived as doing some effort, because it will mar the very nature and the Transcendent character of the Soul.[35]

(vi) Here, again the question crops up whether the endeavouring (vyavasāyātmakaḥ) being (sattva) or non-endeavouring (avyavasāyātmakaḥ being markes effort.. If a being with endeavour makes efforts, then a person always associated with effort (again) endeavours—this cannot be logically held. Similarly, an effortless being too cannot be maintained to be associated with any kind of effort or endeavour as it would be against the very nature of that being to be in association with the efforts.[36]

(vii) Similarly, to be caused or not to be caused (by others) of a sattva may also be considered. To maintain another person or source as urging, impelling or guiding a sentient being is not worth-logical. Similarly, if a sattva is not impelled by any other source or cause, then everything is always endeavouring—this also cannot be consistently held.[37]

(viii) Considered from the point of the view of the dependency or the independent character of Ātman or Sattva, it cannot be logically appropriate to hold that a free and independent self diverts his efforts towards desease, old age, debility, death, suffering and afflictions of the kind. Simi-

35. *Ibid.*, P. 132. 1–3.
36. *Ibid.*, loc. cit. lines 4–6.
37. *Ibid.*, P. 132.

कच्चिदिच्छसि सहेतुकं सत्त्वश्चेष्टते निर्हेतुकं चेष्टते वेति। स चेत्सहेतुकं सत्त्वस्याप्यन्यश्चेष्टायां प्रेरक इति न युज्यते। स चेन्निर्हेतुकं। सदा सर्वकालं सर्वं चेष्टत इति न युज्यते।

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larly, a dependent Ātman endeavours in the above way, this too cannot be maintained.[38]

Now Asaṅga proceeds to examine several other aspects of this problem, *viz.* the relation of Ātman to the skandhas, its conception as perceiver or witness and its relation to in-fliction (samkleśa) and purity (vyavadāna).

(a) *Ātman in relation to the Skandhas*:

So far as the conception of Ātman in relation to the skandhas or the constituent aggregates of our personality is concerned, Asaṅga puts forth three alternatives to this aspect of the problem:

(i) whether the very aggregates are given the nomen-clature of being (Sattva); or

(ii) it is in the aggregates; or

(iii) it is in something[39] other than the aggregates (anyatra, skandhebhyaḥ)?

(i) If we take the first alternative into consideration, then 'absolutely' (seperated) from the Skandhas no Ātman can actually be conceived. No Ātman emanating from the Skandhas can be conceived of as Absolute and of Transcen-dent character.[40] Therefore this alternative cannot stand to examination. Moreover, if the Ātman and the skandhas are conceived as identical, then this should also be conceived

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38. *Ibid.*, loc. cit:
कच्चिदिच्छसि सत्वः स्वतन्त्रश्चेष्टते परतंत्रो वेति। स चेत्स्वतन्त्रः। आत्मनो व्याधि जरां मरणं दुःखं संक्लेशं प्रति चेष्टत इति न युज्यते।। स चेत्परतन्त्रः। आत्मा चेष्टत इति न युज्यते।।

39. *Ibid*. P. 132.
कच्चित्स्कन्धमात्रे स वप्रज्ञप्तिमिच्छसि स्कन्धेषु वान्यत्र वा स्कन्धेभ्यः.

40. *Ibid.*, loc. cit:
स चेत्स्कन्धमात्रे। तेन निर्विशिष्टः स्कन्धेभ्यः सत्यतः स्थितितो स्त्यात्मेति न युज्यने।

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as ephemeral and non-eternal and thus subject to origin, decay and destruction.[41]

(ii) If Ātman is conceived as subsisting in the skandhas, then either it may be eternal or non-eternal. If it is eternal, then it cannot be conceived as the experiencer of favour and injury (anugraha and upaghāta) through pleasure and pain without which the dharma and adharma cannot emanate and manifest. And without this manifestation (pravṛtti) of dharma and adharma, bodies cannot originate absolutely which in their turn make the Ātman effortless. And being devoid of any effort, the soul should be always released, which would be entirely illogical and inconsistent to hold.

If it is non-eternal, then also it cannot be maintained that it is not comprehended (upalabhyate) as separated from volitions which flow in the series of origin and decay. Moreover, it would lead to the fallacy of the acquisition of fruits without any action by the destructed (and non-existent) things. Therefore, this also cannot be held to be logical.[42]

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41. cp. *Mādhyamika kā*. XVIII. 1.
आत्मा स्कन्धा यदि भवेदुदयव्ययभाग्भवेत।
स्कन्धेभ्योऽन्यो यदि भवेद् भवेदस्कन्धलक्षणः।।

42. *Ibid.*, P. 132-33:
स चेत्स्कन्धेषु। स नित्यो वा स्यादनित्यो वा। स चेन्नित्यः। नित्यस्य सुखदुःखाभ्यामनुग्रहोपघातो न युज्यते। अनुग्रहोपघाते वा पुनः सति धर्माधर्मयोः प्रवृत्तिर्न युज्यते। धर्माधर्मयोः प्रवृत्तावसत्यामत्यन्तं देहानुत्पत्तिः अप्रयत्ने च सदा मुक्त आत्मेति न युज्यते।। स चेदनित्यः। पृथक्संस्कारेभ्यो भंगोत्पत्तिप्रबन्धप्रवृत्तितो नोपलभ्यते इति न युज्यते इह च विनष्टस्यान्यत्राकृताभ्यागदोष इति न युज्यते।।
cp. *LS* X. 60 ab: नास्ति स्कन्धेष्वात्मा न सत्त्वो न च पुद्गलः।
cp. also X. 135.
न ह्ययात्मा विद्यते स्कन्धे स्कन्धाश्चैव हि नात्मनि।
न ते यथा विकल्पन्ते न च ते वै न सन्ति च।।

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(iii) If Ātman is conceived as inhering in something other than the aggregates, then 'being' cannot be taken as non-originated (asaṁskṛta). If it is conceived as devoid of skandhas (askandhakaḥ) then Ātman is to be assumed as always afflicted and tormented due to non-relation to the skandhas which too is not capable to be logically maintained.[43]

Thus, Ātman cannot be conceived either as related or as unrelated to the skandhas.

(b) *Ātman as Perceiver and Witness:*

Ātman might also be conceived either of the nature of perceiver or witness etc. (draṣṭrādilakṣaṇaḥ) or of the nature of other than the seer etc.[44]

If it is of the nature of seer etc., then it is called 'seer', by way of the supposed identification of seerness, seeing etc., on the apprehension etc. or it might be other than those.[45]

If it is by way of supposed identification on the apprehension, then the apprehension etc. are the apprehendors etc. and thus Ātman cannot be maintained to be perceiver or apprehendor, as Ātman is not qualified by apprehension, etc.[46]

If it is other than those, then the apprehension and the like would be either its objects or the instrument or motives.

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43. *YBS,* P. 133.

स चेदस्कन्धकः तेन सदा संक्लिष्टोऽसम्बन्धाद्यत्मेति न युज्यते।

44. *YBS,* P. 133.

45. *Ibid.,* loc. cit:

तेन किं दर्शनादिषु द्रष्टत्वाद्युपचारं कृत्वा द्रष्टृत्वलक्षण आहोस्वित्पृथक्तेभ्यः।

46. *Ibid.,* loc. cit.

स चेद्दर्शनादिषु उपचारे तेन दर्शनादीन्येव द्रष्टृणीत्यात्मा द्रष्टेति न युज्यते। निर्विशिष्ट आत्मा दर्शनादिभिः।

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If these are regarded as its object, then it would be like the seeds. And as the seeds are non-eternal and the Ātman is regarded as eternal, it cannot be maintained as the object of the soul which is Transcendent in characteer. It cannot be maintained as non-eternal as well as empirical like the behaviour of the potter (kumbha-kāra) etc. He acts at his own desires in all the objects of experience, this too cannot be maintained. We do come across and perceive the actions or objects of earth and ether, but we do not have in our range of perception any kind of action or object of action of the Transcendental Soul. In the ether, we do come across the action by means of which the fivefold activity is made possible in the sky. But in the Ātman no such activity can be seen.[47] Buddha, too, has, in the like manner, declared to which self do the actions touch even.'[48]

In the same way, apprehension and the like cannot be maintained to be the instrument or motivator of the Ātman, as in the way, by the instrument of cutting (dātrāt), another act of cutting etc. is perceived, we do not have any such other act of apprehension etc. by the apprehension and the like. Likewise, the conception of fire (agni) too is not worth maintaining, as the fire cannot burn without the ob-

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47. *Ibid.*, op. cit.
स चेदन्यस्तेभ्यः। तेन दर्शनादिकमात्मनः कर्म वा स्यात्करणं वा स चेत्कर्म। तच्च बीजवत् तेनानित्यत्वान्न युज्यते। स चेत्कुम्भकारादिसंव्यवहारपुरुषवत्। तेनानित्यश्च सांवृतश्चेति न युज्यते। स कामकारी च सर्वार्थेष्विति न युज्यते। स चेत्पृथिवीवत्। तेनानित्यश्च। न च पृथिवीवत्स्पष्टकर्मेति न युज्यते। तथा हि पृथिव्याः कर्म स्पष्टमुपलभ्यते। यदधस्तात्तद्वशान्न पतति। स चेदाकाशवत्। तेन रूपाभावमात्र आकाशप्रज्ञप्तिरिति न युज्यते। सत्यपि च प्रज्ञप्तिसत्वे स्पष्टं तत्कर्मोपलभ्यते। न त्वात्मन इति न युज्यते। यथा ह्याकाशस्य स्पष्टं कर्मोपलभ्यते यत्तद्वशादागमनगमनसंकोचनप्रसारणादिकर्म प्रवर्त्तते। तस्मात्कर्मेति न युज्यते।

48. *M.N.* III. 81.
अनत्तकतानि कम्मानि कमत्तानं फुसिस्सन्ती ति

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ject of inflamation (dāhaka). Similarly, the Ātman cannot be maintained as other than the seer etc.[49] Thus an Ātman without any proof cannot be logically proved.[50]

(c) *Ātman as having the Nature of Infliction and Purity.* (Saṁkleśa and Vyavadāna):

Volitions (Saṁskāras) are conceived of two kinds: those having the nature of infliction and purity and those having not the nature of the same. Thus, in those volitions in which distress, calamity and misfortune and the favour of their pacification are comprehended and ascertained, are called having the nature of infliction and purity respectively. And therefore without Ātman, their affliction or purity is not proper to be maintained as in the case of the outer wordly existents and inner bodies.[51]

If it is not of the nature of affliction and purification, then such Ātman cannot be consistently held to be existent.[52]

Similarly, Ātman cannot be maintained to be impeller or instigator as the volitions are their own impellers, they act and interact through themselves without any outer motive. It cannot be maintained as devoid of the nature of an impeller also, as being so, it engages in and abstains from activity—this cannot consistently be proved.[53]

If it is maintained that a being that is afflicted and affected by pleasure and pain originating from the worldly objects and is deviated and affected by consciousness, is pur-

49. See, *YBS*, P. 133–17–134. 2.
तेन सर्वप्रमाणहीनं आत्मेति न युज्यते।
50. *Ibid.*, P. 134. 2.
51. *Ibid.*, P. 134 3–9.
52. *Ibid.*, P. 134. 10 :
तेन संक्लेशव्यवदानलक्षणविरहित: संक्लिश्यते व्यवदायते वात्मेति न युज्यते।
53. See *Ibid.*, P. 134, Para 2.

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turbed by afflictions and affections, and the enjoyer, the actor or the released or the Transcendent Being that is unaffected, is affected, and thus the volitions are the enjoyers etc. and the Ātman non-eternal, this cannot be logically maintained.[54]

If that is not affected (at the worldly plane) then also (this) Absolute and Transcendent Ātman cannot be maintained as enjoyer, actor and as released.[55]

Likewise, the supposition of being agent or actor and Ātman cannot be proved either in relation to Ātman or otherwise.[56]

In the end, the Ātma-dṛṣṭi and the nairātmya-dṛṣṭi might be considered as good (Kuśala) or bad (akuśala). Considered in both ways, these are not worth-maintaining (as extreme-views).[57] Because, for example, if the nairātmya-dṛṣṭi is taken as Kuśala, then in actuality, if the Ātman exists, it cannot be good and non-opposed (Kuśalāviparīta) and if it is bad (akuśala), then also it cannot be proved to have come from practical path in realisation of truth and removal of worldly bondage as pure-fruited and opposite of the affections (doṣas).[58]

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54. *Ibid.*, P. 134-35.
स इदं स्याद् वचनीयः। कच्चिदिच्छसि यो विषयनिर्जाताभ्यां सुखदुःखाभ्यां विकारमापद्यते। यश्च चेतनया विकारमापद्यते। यच्च क्लेशोपक्लेशैर्विकारमापद्यते। स कर्ता वा भोक्ता वा मोक्ता वेति। यो वा विकारमापद्यते। स चेद्विकारमापद्यते। तेन संस्कारा एव भोक्तारः कर्त्तारो मोक्तार इत्यनित्यं आत्मा इति न युज्यते।

55. *Ibid.*, loc. cit:
स चेन्न विकारमापद्यते। तेन भोक्ता कर्ता मोक्तात्मेति निर्विकारो न युज्यते।

56. See *YBS*, P. 135, para 1 and 2.
57. See *Ibid* P. 135, para 3-4.
58. *Ibid.*, P. 135, 36.
कच्चिदिच्छसि नैरात्म्यदृष्टिः कुशला वाऽकुशला वेति। स चेत्कुशला। तेन सत्यतः स्थिततः सत्यात्मनि नैरात्म्यदृष्टिः कुशलाविपरीतेति न युज्यते। स चेदकुशला। तेन सर्वज्ञदेशिता प्रयोगजनिता मोक्षानुत्रांसकरी शुक्लफला दोषाणां प्रतिपक्षभूतेति। न युज्यते।

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Ātman, thus, cannot be proved to be existent (at the empirical level) as such, keeping in view the above view-points.[59]

Asaṅga proceeds further and shows that though the Transcendental Ātman cannot be traced in the empirical state of our manifold experiences and states, Ātman or being is said to be present in volitions or ephemeral saṁskāras in the form of worldly existents which may be regarded as having come out of the ego or the ahaṁ otherwise known as ātman (Pali-attā).[60] For pleasureful actions, for empirical behaviour, for the process of worldly transactions, for the removal of the annihilation-view, and for producing the notion (pratyaya) of the existence of qualities and defects in one's within and without, this empirical nomenclature (prajñapti) of being (Sattva) in the volitions and the worldly existents is conceived.[61] But this sattva-prajñapti or the

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59. See for additional arguments, ibid. P. 136 3–8.

60. cp. *P.* 136. 8–137. 4.

अपि तु पारमार्थिकमात्मलक्षणं वक्ष्यामि। धर्मेष्वात्मप्रज्ञप्तिः। स तेभ्योऽन्यानन्यत्वेनावक्तव्यः। मा भूदस्य द्रव्यसत्वमिति। तेषां वा धर्माणामात्मलक्षणत्वं। स पुनरनित्यलक्षणः। अध्रुवलक्षणः। अनाश्वासिकलक्षणः। विपरिणामलक्षणः। जातिधर्मलक्षणः। जराव्याधिमरणधर्मलक्षणः। धर्ममात्रलक्षणः। दुःखमात्रलक्षणः। तथा ह्युक्तं भगवता इतीमे भिक्षो धर्माआत्मा। अनित्यस्ते भिक्षो आत्मा अध्रुवोऽनाश्वासिकः। विपरिणामधर्मको भिक्षो आत्मेत्येत्मादि।

61. *Ibid.,* P. 131. 5–8.

अपि चतुर्भिः कारणैः संस्कारेषु सत्वप्रज्ञप्तिर्वेदितव्या सुखसंव्यवहारार्थं। लोकानुवृत्त्यर्थं। सर्वथा सत्त्ववस्तु नास्तीत्युत्त्रासप्रहाणार्थं। आत्मनि परत्र न व्यपदेशतो गुणसत्वदोषसत्त्वसंप्रत्ययोत्पादनार्थं च।

cp. Asaṅga's comm. on the *Vajracchedika PP.*
आर्यत्रिशति याः प्रज्ञापारमितायाः कारिका सप्ततिः,
Published and editted by G. Tucci, *SOR* (IX, Part I, Roma, 1956, *P.* 1–128), Vs. 10.

पृथग्भावेन सन्तत्या वृत्तेराजीवितस्थितेः। पुनश्च गतिलीनत्वादात्मसंज्ञा चतुर्विधा॥

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'nomenclature of being' in the worldly existents is due only to avidyā or nescience from which emanates the ego-tendency.[62]

Thus in the YBS, Asaṅga has tried to prove that the Absolute and the Transcendental Ātman cannot be conceived in terms of the apparent worldly experiences, empirical view-points and the conceptions of Truth at the lower grade. This Ātmavada has been maintained as a view propounding an aspect of the problem, which is also known as Satkāya dṛṣṭi, defined as the illusory 'notion of the self in the non-self.'[63] The five skandhas are, as pointed out earlier, conceived as self (ātmīya) or the same skandhas are regarded as identical with Ātman and taken as eternal or non-eternal. All this is due to avidyā or misapprehension of Truth which leads to comprehending as Ātman what is not so. This has rightly been regarded by Asaṅga as 'inflicted intuition' (Saṁkliṣṭā prajñā) and identified with Satkāya dṛṣṭi as well as Antagrāha dṛṣṭi.[64] Asaṅga has more explicitly described this Ātmavāda as Ātmagrāha in his another treatise of Mahāyāna.[65] This has also been designated as ātma-moha by other teachers of the Mahāyāna.[66] Asaṅga therefore con-

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62. cp. विपर्यासमूलमविद्या। *YBS*. P. 166. 16.

63. अनात्मन्योन्मेति विपर्यासः *ibid.*, loc. cit., the erroneous view expressed by Prof. Emile Senart that the conception of Satkayādṛṣṭi is related to the Sāṅkhya conception of Satkārya-vāda, cannot be accepted as this doctrine relates only to the ātman and not the cause-effect relation for which the Buddhists have a separate doctrine of Pratītya Samutpāda. See, *Buddhist* Logic I. 109, fn.; on Satkāyadṛṣṭi one may be referred to Asaṅga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya, P.* 8..... (ed: P. Pradhan); *Jñānaprasthānaśāstra* of Kātyayānīputra (Part I restored by S. Sastri) P. 7, 8; cp. p. 230-31; See also *Abhidharmāmṛta,* P. 128.

64. See *YBS*, P. 166, Paras 6-7, and *P.* 162 (Paras 5-6).

65. Comm. on the *Vajracchadika* PP. Vs. 61 A. 61-a. आत्मग्राहसमोदोषः—

66. Vasubandhu, *Trimśkā-Vijñaptikārikā,* Kārikā 6 with the भाष्य of स्थिरमतिः आत्ममोहादयः क्लेशा मनोवन्नवभूमिकाः (quoted).

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demns only this aspect of the doctrine of *Ātmavāda* so far as it stains the true character of the soul. The ego-tendency which is rooted in our mind, mars the very nature of Ātman which is unafflicted and unaffected by empirical inclinations and wordly tendencies initiated by the trinity of attachment, envy and sloth and caused by nescience. These are eradicated by proper contemplation and concentration of mind through detachment from the worldly affections and tortures. Our entire faculty of concentration and supra-worldly tendencies are employed in eradicating and getting over these ego-rooted tendencies of the human mind ultimately culminating in the attainment of the final deliverance through the contemplation of Suchness and 'Absolute' aspect of relativity (śūnyatā). It is in this transcendental sense that Asaṅga relates his Ātma-doctrine with nairātmya-doctrine (non-intrinsic character of the worldly existents) which finally culminates in the doctrine of the Universal Soul (Mahātman).[67] When the mind, fettered with the ātma-grāha (clutching of Ego) is freed through contemplation and higher and advanced moral and spiritual discipline, Suchness (Tathatā) becomes unstained and pure and non-different from the Buddha-hood (Buddhatva)[68] and that is why the Buddhas, having attained the purity of Ātman, comprehend the Universality of Soul (Ātmamahātmatā).[69]

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67. cp. MSA, IX. 22-23.

शून्यतायां विशुद्धायां नैरात्म्यान्मार्गलाभतः ।
बुद्धाः शुद्धात्मलाभित्वाद्गता आत्ममहात्मताम् ।

(IX. 23) See for elaboration, *Bauddha Dharma Darśana* of Ācārya Narendra Deva, p. 395; cp. also XIV, 37.

संस्कारमात्रां जगदेत्य बुद्ध्या निरात्मकं दुःखविरूढिमात्रम् ।
विहाय यानर्थमयात्मदृष्टिः महात्मदृष्टिं श्रयते महार्थाम् ॥

68. *MSA*, XI. 49:

चित्तमेतत्सदौष्ठुल्यमात्मदर्शनपाशितम् ।
प्रवर्तते निवृत्तिस्तु तदध्यात्मस्थितेर्मता ॥

69. cp. *MSA*, IX 23, XIX, 52, 54.

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Thus, in Asaṅga's view-point, Ātman is Transcendent and Absolute in character, unstained by empirical experiences and worldly tendencies and is not seen through experiences at the lower grade of Truth. This may also be identified with the Tathatā or Suchness and the Absolute Truth (pariniṣpannalakṣaṇa- which has been described as unchanging and untransformed at the empirical level.[69]

Asaṅga, thus, following the Buddha's viewpoint, only stressed upon the repudiation of the erroneous and conceived identification of the Ātman with the empirical entities in the form of the constituents of our personality and he in no way attached any importance to the negation of the existence[70] and the Absolute character of Ātman, otherwise he could not have maintained the doctrine of Universality of Soul (ātma-mahātmatā) realised through the doctrines of non-ego-is-tic-ness or non-intrinsic character of the worldly existents (nairātmyavāda), Absolutistic Relativity (Śūnyatā)[71] and Pure Suchness (Tathatā) all leading towards the Final Deliverance (Nirvāṇa) and Buddhahood (Buddhatva).*

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70. That is why the problem presented before the Buddha regarding Ātman (Jīva) is whether it is different from the body or not (the fourth set of avyākṛta questions, see *Cūlamāluṅkya Sutta*, M.N. I. 107–113) and not whether jīva or ātman exists or not. See N. Tatia, *Avyākṛtas* (Pub. in *Nava Nalanda Mahavihara Research Publications Volume* II, P. 141–159, Interpretation of the IV set of questions); Cp. also Belvelker and Ranade, *History of Indian Philosophy* (Creative period, 1929) P. 435 (fn. 22) and references cited therein.

71. Nāgārjuna defines śūnyatā as

शून्यता सर्वदृष्टीनां प्रोक्ता निस्सरणं जिनैः ।
येषां तु शून्यतादृष्टिस्तानसाध्यान्बभाषिरे । (*Mādh. Kā.* XIII. 8);
cp. also
अपरप्रत्ययं शान्तं प्रपञ्चैरप्रपञ्चितम् ।
निर्विकल्पमनानार्थमेतत्तत्त्वस्य लक्षणम् ॥
Ibid., XVIII. 9.

* The paper was read before the Religion and Philosophy Section of the XXIII All-India Oriental Conference, Aligarh, 1966.

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ŚRĪNĀTHA ĀCĀRYA-CŪḌĀMAṆI, THE TARGET OF GOVINDĀNANDA'S ATTACK

By Dr. Bani Chakravorty*

We have discussed in an earlier paper[1] the contents of the published and unpublished works of Śrīnātha Ācārya-Cūḍāmaṇi who was a well-known Bengali Smṛti Nibandha-kāra flourishing in the 15th century A.D. We now propose to describe another aspect of his contributions. He was well-versed in the Smṛti and Mīmāṁsā Śāstras prevalent in mediaeval Bengal. So his works are the result of his vast scholarship. But Śrīnātha was subsequently forgotten and his works having been buried in oblivion, were not at all read and taught even by the local scholars. In searching for the cause of this state of affairs we may safely conclude that Śrīnātha's brilliant and meritorious pupil, Smārta Bhaṭṭāchārya Raghunandana was responsible for this fatal fate of his teacher. The famous sixteenth-century nibandha-kāra of Bengal, Raghunandana, educated by his revered teacher Śrīnātha, excelled the latter in learning and erudition. But it is remarkable that though Śrīnātha's works were mostly neglected by his contemporaries and successors, yet they survived in Raghunandana's encyclopāedia, viz. *Smṛtitattva,* otherwise called *Aṣṭāviṁśātitattva,* in 28 parts which virtually replaced the former and stood on the highest peak of popularity.

Just about the time of Śrīnātha's popularity, another Bengali nibandhakāra, Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya, ap-

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peared on the cultural horizon of Bengal and tried his utmost to gain outstanding fame as a writer in Smṛti-Śāstra. But his attempts did not prove to be very successful, because his compilation did not satisfy the crying needs of the then disturbed Hindu Society of Bengal. The obvious reason is that one who simply fulfils his intellectual curiosities only but does not meet the demands of the contemporary Hindu society, never meets with any success as a writer.

Both the nibandhakāras, viz. Śrīnātha and Govindānanda were the products of their hereditary learning. Śrīnātha's father Śrīkarācārya and his son Rāmabhadra were equally learned as Śrīnātha, thus furnishing a good illustration of the continuity of hereditary erudition. Śrīkarācārya was highly learned in Smṛti. Śrīnātha noted in the introductory verse of his commentary[2] on the *Śrāddhaviveka* of Śūlapāṇi and *Sāramañjarī*[3] (the commentary of *Pariśiṣṭaprakāśa* of Nārāyaṇa) that he composed these treatises according to the instructions of his father.

Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṁkāra Bbaṭṭācārya, the son of *Śrīnātha,* composed the *Dāyabhāgadīpikā* or the *Dāyabhāgaṭippaṇī* by elucidating the views of his father.[4] Rāmabhadra had several sons, some of whom were learned and his second and sixth sons wrote treatises on Tantra. So it can be

2. Śrīkarācāryaputreṇa Śrīmacchrīnāthaśarmaṇā /
Vyākhyā Śrāddhavivekasya janakoktā *nibadhyate* / /
The Commentary of *Śrāddhaviveka* Ms. f. 1 b.

3. Śuddhopadeśaṁ janakādavāpya svayaṁ vicāryāpi nibandhajātaṁ /
Bravīmi yat kiṁca na tatra santo vimatsarāḥ prītiyutā bhavantu / /
Sāramañjarī Ms. f. 1 b.

4. Ālocya Tātanirmitanibandhamārādhya Viśveśvaraṁ /
Āryācāryastanute vivṛtimimāṁ Dāyabhāgasya / /
Dāyabhāga with six commentaries, ed. Bharat Ch. Śiromaṇi, p. 2.

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noted that Śrīnātha's family possessed great learning and vast scholarship.

On the other hand, Govindānanda's father Gaṇapatibhaṭṭa was also well-known in the world of letters. Govindānanda speaks of his father, Gaṇapatibhaṭṭa and describes him as a great scholar, learned in all the Śāstras, a great astronomer and an orthodox Vaiṣṇava.[5] That Gaṇapatibhaṭṭa was a famous astronomer of his age is proved by his treatise on astronomy called *Jyotiṣmatī*.

The personal history of these two nibandhakāras, specially of Śrīnātha, was little known up till now, but about Govindānanda it was known from MM. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha's preface to his *Varṣakrīyākaumudī* that he lived in the village of Bagri in the district of Midnapore and that his father, Gaṇapatibhaṭṭa, composed the astronomical work viz., *Jyotiṣmatī*. Moreover, he was an orthodox Vaiṣṇava as appears from the introductory verses of his many treatises.

Śrīnātha was a product of the latter part of 15th and earlier part of the 16th century, while both Govindānanda and Raghunandana flourished in the next, 16th century, their works having been composed during the periods between 1510 and 1550 A.D. and between 1520 and 1575 A.D. respectively. Thus Śrīnātha and Govindānanda were the two immediate Bengali predecessors of Raghunandana. But practically speaking all of them were contemporaries, Raghunandana being a junior contemporary of the first two. The present writer has shown in her Bengali monograph,[6] en-

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5. Yena Jyotiṣapaṅkajeṣu nitarāṁ mārtaṇḍabiṁbāyitaṁ-
Śrīgovindapadāravindayugaleṣu līlāmarālāyitaṁ /
Vedāntasmṛtisantatitripathagonmeṣe himādrīyitaṁ
Keṣāṁ nopariśīlito Gaṇapatir bhaṭṭa satāṁ dṛgvidhaḥ //
Variyākaumudī, p. 1.

6. pp. 99—101 and p. 211.

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titled 'Samāja-Saṁskāraka Raghunandana' that Raghunandana's only three identified quotations from the *Kriyā-Kaumudī* of Govindānanda, are without mentioning the name of the latter and that the only other reference to his view without that mention, is from the *Śuddhikaumudī* of the latter author. But that Govindānanda's works other than the above two were not known to Raghunandana, is proved by the fact that had Raghunandana known the severe criticisms about him and unfair remarks on his own teacher, characterizing him as an 'Ādhunika' (a novice), a talented pupil like him must have vehemently protested against those unfair criticisms and objectionable remarks.

Govindānanda not only styles Śrīnātha as an 'Ādhunika' (i.e. a novice), but also characterizes him with such expressions as an 'expert in finding fault with old customs for the sake of achieving fame,'[7] 'willing to uproot those customs which were followed by the wise all over the country and which have come down through generations,'[8] 'teaching bad reasoning out of greed,'[9] etc. He also refutes his views with such terms as 'taddheyaṁ,' 'tanmandaṁ,' 'tadupahasanīyaṁ,' etc. (i.e. that view is bad, is to be rejected or to be laughed at etc.).

From these examples it is clear that Govindānanda looked upon Śrīnātha as his great rival who stood in the way of establishing his own views among his pupils and hampered

7. Kecit khyātigrahilāḥ prācīnācāradūṣaṇe paṭavaḥ /
mama mataṁ tiṣṭhāpayiṣor vācaṁ santo nugṛhṇantu //
The Commentary of *Śrāddhaviveka* Ms. f. 18 b.

8. Sarvaśiṣṭairangīkṛtaṁ sarvadeśeṣu pāraṁparyakramāgataṁ ācāramunmūlayituṁ icchatāmādhunikānāṁ vacasi nādaraḥ kāryaḥ.
Varṣakriyākaumudī, p. 216.

9. Attrādhunikāḥ........iti lobhādhyāpitakutarkāḥ śiṣṭācāraṁvilopayanti.
Ibid., p. 216.

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his popularity. For this reason Govindānanda always tried to refute the views of Śrīnātha by calling them as modern views (Ādhunikamata) in his different treatises.

It is interesting to note that though Govindānanda thinks Śrīnātha as a rival and hindrance in the propagation of his views, yet both of them pay high regards to their immediate Bengali predecessor, Śūlapāṇi.

With best regards for Śūlapāṇi, Śrīnātha salutes him and expresses in the following manner in the introductory verse of his *Śrāddhaviveka-Vyākhyā*:[10]

"Where are the views of Śūlapāni which are difficult to grasp and where is my humble and bad intellect (i.e. there exists a great gulf between them), yet I express here a particle only of his intended meaning, hence the wise may pardon me."

On the other hand Govindānanda also says in his commentary of *Śrāddhaviveka*—"Where is the lofty expression of Śūlapāṇi and where is my intellect which becomes afraid to judge the keen observation on this; yet by the meditation

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10. Vibudhaśreṇivandyāya namaḥ Śrīsūlapāṇaye //
kva Śūlapāṇer vacanaṁ durūhaṁ kudhīr madīyālpatamā tathāpi /
bravīmi tātparyalavaṁ yadatra tanme sudhiyaḥ kṣamadhvaṁ //
The Commentary of Śrīnātha on *Śrāddhaviveka* Ms., f. I b.

11. Kva Śūlapāṇer vacanaṁ garīyaḥ kva matiḥ sūkṣmavicārabhīruḥ /
tathāpi govindapadāravindadhyānāt parāṁ śaktimiha vyatānīt //
The Commentary of Govindānanda on *Śrāddhaviveka* Ms. f. 18 b.

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of the lotus-like feet of the lord Viṣṇu great power may descend."

From the above passages it is manifest that both Śrīnātha and Govindānanda regarded Śūlapāṇi with great respect. But in the case of Śrīnātha, Govindānanda furiously and vociferously criticised his views. Govindānanda so dislikes Śrīnātha that he styles him modern and often refutes his views without mentioning his name. The grudge of Govindānanda against Śrīnātha will be disclosed by the following extracts.

In connection with Janmāṣṭamī (i.e. the birth festival of the lord Kṛṣṇa on the eighth tithi of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa), Śrīnātha says that after the fast for this festival, the Pāraṇa (i.e. the breaking fast), will be celebrated on the next day after the end of the eighth tithi and Rohinī asterism in the midnight.[12] But by refuting this view of Śrīnātha, Govindānanda says that then the breaking of fast will take place on the morning of the third day, not on the next day.[13]

Śrīnātha is of opinion that at the time of the 'Ambuvācī' festival (i.e. the three days from the 7th to the 9th) of the solar month of Āśāḍha, the digging of the earth is forbidden, the sowing of crops by the cultivator and learning and teaching of the Vedas, etc. by the teacher are also strictly

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12. Tithṛykṣayor yadā chedo nakṣatrasyānta eva vā /
ardharātre tataḥ kuryāt pāraṇaṁ pāraṇaṁ tvaparehani //
divase pāraṇaṁ kuryādityarthaḥ......yattu tithibhānte ca pāraṇamityuktvāpi aparehani tatsaṁbhavābhiprāyamiti Hemādripārijātadisammatā vyavasthā eveti.

Kṛtyatattvārṇava Ms. f. 49 a.

13. Tatastasmāddivasādaparehani prātastṛtīyehani pāraṇaṁ kuryādityarthaḥ. Yattadorekārtha pratyāyakatvavyutpatteh. Etenopavāsadinādaparehanīti yadādhunikena vyākhyātaṁ tatparāstaṁ, aparapadavaiyarthyāpatteḥ.

Varṣakriyākaumudī, p. 305.

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prohibited.[14] But Govindānanda refutes this view of Śrīnātha.[15]

Another example may also be cited here. According to the view of Śrīnātha oblations will be offered to the sage Agastya within the last four days of the solar month of Bhādra i.e. when the sun does not come in the Zodiacal sign Kanyā (Virgo).[16] But Govindānanda does not approve of this view of Śrīnātha. He refutes this view by saying that oblations will be given within the last three days, not within the last four days.[17]

It thus becomes clear from the above passages that Govindānanda cherished severe grudge against Śrīnātha and was in no mood to protect the Hindu society and religion in the then Bengal from internal and external outrages and

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14. Tathā Jyotiḥśāstre—mṛgaṣirasi nivṛtte raudra pādembuvācī ṛtumatī khalu pṛthvī varjayettrīṇyahāni, Yadi vapati kṛṣāṇaḥ kṣetra-māsādya vījaṁ na bhavati phalayogaḥ śaśya cāṇḍālapākaḥ. Etad-dinatrayaṁ yāvattāvadvedopi nādhyeyaḥ.

Dvāveva varjayennityamasvādhyāyau prayatnataḥ //
svādhyāyabhūmiñcāśuddhāmātmānañcāśuciṁ dvjaḥ //

iti Manuvacanāt.

Kṛtyatattvārṇava Ms. f. 44 b.

15. Ādhunikāḥ—dvāveva varjayennityaṁ......iti Manuvaca-nāt pṛthvyā rajoyogenāśuddhatayā adhyayenapratiśedha iti vadanti, tanmandaṁ.

Varṣakriyākaumudī, p. 284.

16. Taduktaṁ Bhaviśyottare—

Kanyāyāmagate sūrye satribhāgaistribhir dinaiḥ /
kanyāsaṁbandhasaṁprāpte sūryerghaḥ sannivartate //

dinatrayasya tribhāgo dinamekaṁ, tena caturbhir dinairityarthaḥ.

Kṛtyatattvārṇava Ms. f. 51a.

17. Dinasya tribhāgo viṁśatidaṇḍāstatsahitena dinatrayeṇa ityarthaḥ.

Ādhunikaistu dinatrayasya tribhāgo dinamekaṁ tena caturbhir dinairityuktaṁ, tanmandaṁ, viśeṣyasya dinasyaiva tribhāgapratīteḥ na tu viśeṣanāntaraviśiṣṭasya gauravāt sārdhapraharatrayādivat.

Varṣakriyākaumudī, p. 340.

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invasions, as at that time Bengali Hinduism was much weakened by the inroads of Buddhism, Jainism, Tantrism and Islam. On the other hand Śrīnātha intended to save the Brahmanical rites and ceremonies from the various onslaughts by composing his treatises and thus so moulded the mind of his pupil Raghunandana that he might be able to protect the Brahmanical dharma and the Hindu society from those outrages. This intention of Śrīnātha is well manifested in the introductions and colophons of his nibandhas.[18]

For the above reasons Govindānanda with so many treatises on Dharma-Śāstra to his credit, did not command any popularity either in his own time or after his death. Another reason which stood against the popularity of Govindānanda, is the well-established fame and reputation of Raghunandana, the glory of mediaeval Bengal. It is to be noted here that Śrīnātha's name also has been eclipsed by the fame of his worthy pupil. So it can be safely asserted that Raghunandana is a product of the good teaching imparted to and new insight instilled into him by his illustrious teacher, Śrīnātha. Raghunandana carried into effect his teacher's attempts to save Bengal Brahmanism from various heretical outrages and so his name has come down to posterity as that of a great social and religious reformer of mediaeval Bengal.

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18. (a) Sandehatimirācchanna śrāddhakalpaprakāśikā /
jagajjāḍyāpahā klptā sasneham Śrāddhadīpikā //
Śrāddhadīpikā Ms. f. 67 b.

(b) Suśiṣyabuddhivaiśadyahetoḥ Śrīnāthaśarmaṇā /
kṛtā tithivivekasya ṭīkā Tātparyadīpikā //
Tātparyadīpikā, p. 48.

(c) Sa śiṣyasandehanirāsahetoḥ /
Śrīnāthaśarmā kurute Vivekaṁ //
Durgotsavaviveka, p. 43.

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THE *DAŚARŪPA* OF DHANAÑJAYA AND *AVALOKA*, ITS COMMENTARY BY DHANIKA

By DR. RAJMANI PANDEY*

व्याकीर्णे मन्दबुद्धीनां जायते मतिविभ्रमः।
तस्यार्थस्तत्पदैस्तेन संक्षिप्य क्रियतेऽञ्जसा ॥ [1a]

The complicated confused and cumbersome *Nāṭyaśāstra* was superseded by *Daśarūpa* or "Treatise on the ten forms of the drama," an important work on Hindu dramaturgy composed by Dhanañjaya, the son of Viṣṇu and the protégé of the ill-fated king Muñja of Dhārā (974—995 A.D.).

विष्णोः सुतेनापि धनञ्जयेन विद्वन्मनोरागनिबन्धहेतुः।
आविष्कृतं मुञ्जमहीशगोष्ठीवैदग्ध्यभाजा दशरूपमेतत् ॥ [1b]

Who is this Muñja? To answer this question, we have to look at the following pedigree of the Parmāra kings, found in the *Udepur Praśasti*[2] of the kings of Mālwā and in the *Nāgpur Praśasti*.[3] Parmar—descendant Upendra—Vairisinha I—Sīyaka I—Vākpati I—Vairisinha II—Harṣa—son Vākpati II—Sindhurāja, brother of the preceding—Bhoja, son of Sindhurāja—Udayāditya relative of Bhoja—Lakṣmadeva and Narmadeva.[4]

Printed editions of *Daśarūpa* are:

1. Fitzedward Haal, Calcutta 1865, Bibliotheca Indica Text and Commentary.

2. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgar, Calcutta 1878.

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1a. *Daśarūpaka* 1.5.

1b. *Daśarūpaka* 4.91.

2. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. I, pp. 222-23 ed. Bühler.

3. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. II, pp. 180-194 ed. Keilhorn.

4. Vide Dr. C. Ganguly's *History of Parmar Dynasty.*

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3. Kāśīnātha Pāṇḍuraṅga Parab, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1897.

4. George C.O. Haas, only Kārikās and their English translation. Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi 1962.

5. Chowkhambha Vidyābhavan, Vārāṇasī, Samvat 2011.

. Our Muñja, better known Muñja Vākpatirāja was son of Harṣadeva Sīyaka. He ascended the throne in 974 A.D. and reigned till about 995 A.D. when he was beheaded by the Cālukya king Tailapa II.[5]

This king is different from Vākpatirāja Bappai Rāja, the author of Gauḍavaho (8th C. A. D.). Peterson wrongly identified them.[6] Our Muñja had many names or epithets, viz. Muñja, Vākpati, Utpalarāja, Amoghavarṣa, Pṛthivīvallabha, Śrīvallabha and Kavimitra. Dhanika in his commentary[7] cites a verse twice attributing it to Muñja and also to Vākpatirāja. According to the Nagpur Praśasti, Muñja was the son of Sīyaka.[8] There is no reference to Vākpatirāja. Thus Muñja and Vākpatirāja are two names of the same person. According to the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla Sīyaka was father of Vākpatirāja. Tilakamañjarī refers to him as Muñja also.[9] The *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*[10] names him as Kavimitra.[11]

अतीते विक्रमादित्ये गतेऽस्तं सातवाहने।
कविमित्रे विशश्राम यस्मिन् देवी सरस्वती।।

One of his inscriptions speaks of him as Utpalarāja.

5. *Indian Antiquary* XII 270; XVI 18, 23; XXI 167-168. *Epigraphia Indica* ii. 212 f.

6. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics,* Vol. I p. 129.

7. IV. 54, 56.

8. *Epigraphia Indica* II pp. 180—194 ed. Keilhorn.

9. Vide *History of Sanskrit Poetics,* Vol. I. by De p. 130 f.

10. XI, 93.

11. Vide Apte's *History of Sanskrit Poetics* p. 245. *History of Sanskrit Poetics* (Vol. I. p. 130) by De.

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Dhanañjaya was the author of *Kārikās* and Dhanika wrote *Avaloka*, its commentary. Dhanika also was the son of Viṣṇu and, therefore, is taken as a brother of Dhanañjaya.

Jacobi and Levi support identification of the author and the commentator of *Daśarūpa* as one and the same person on the ground of the apparent similarity of names and the identity of patronymic.[12] A verse of Dhanañjaya is attributed to Dhanika in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*.[13]

"यदुक्तं धनिकेन—न चातिरसतो वस्तु दूरं विच्छिन्नतां नयेत् ।
रसं वा न तिरोदध्याद्वस्त्वलंकारलक्षणैः ॥

However, some later writers distinguish between Dhanañjaya and Dhanika. The view of Jacobi and Levi is refuted by De and others.[15] It is generally accepted that Dhanañjaya and Dhanika were brothers.

Dhanika refers to his treatise entitled *Kāvyanirṇaya* in his commentary—

"यथावोचाम काव्यनिर्णये"[16]

This work is probably lost. He also quotes his Sanskrit and Prākrit poems.

In the first *Prakāśa*, after bowing to Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu, Bharata and Saraswatī, the author criticises Bhāmaha in the following stanza without naming him, as is the tradition to criticise by saying "some people (केचित्) say so."

आनन्दनिस्यन्दिषु रूपकेष व्युत्पत्तिमात्रं फलमल्पबुद्धिः ।
योऽपीतिहासादिवदाह साधुस्तस्मै नमः स्वादुपराङ्मुखाय ॥ [17]

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12. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I page 130. Also Kāṇe, *History of Sanskrit Poetics* pp. 246-247.
13. 6.64.
14. *Daśarūpaka* 3.29.
15. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I page 133-134.
16. *Daśarūpaka* 4.35.
17. *Daśarūpaka* 1.6.

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Dhanika explains it as follows—

"तत्र केचित्—धर्मार्थकाममोक्षेषु वैचक्षण्यं कलासु च।
करोति कीर्तिं प्रीतिं च साधुकाव्यनिषेवणम् ॥

इत्यादिना त्रिवर्गादिव्युत्पत्तिमात्रं काव्यफलत्वेनेच्छन्ति। तन्निरासेन स्वयंवेद्यः परमानन्दरूपो रसास्वादो दशरूपाणां फलं न पुनरितिहासादिवत् त्रिवर्गादिव्युत्पत्तिमात्रमिति दर्शितम्। नम इति सोल्लुण्ठम्।"

Here Bhāmaha is quoted and ironically criticised. The criticism is not just. We find in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* the following statements—

धर्म्यमर्थ्यं यशस्यं च सोपदेशं ससंग्रहम्।
भविष्यतश्च लोकस्य सर्वकर्मानुदर्शकम्॥
सर्वशास्त्रार्थसम्पन्नं सर्वशिष्यप्रवर्तकम्।
नाट्याख्यं पञ्चमं वेदं सेतिहासं करोम्यहम्। [18]

धर्म्यं यशस्यमायुष्यं हितं बुद्धिविवर्धनम्।
लोकोपदेशजननं नाट्यमेतद्भविष्यति॥
न तच्छ्रुतं न तच्छिल्पं न सा विद्या न सा कला।
नासौ योगो न तत्कर्म यन्नाट्येऽस्मिन्न दृश्यते॥ [19]

Bharata made a fifth Veda on the Nāṭya with the help of semi-historical tales (*itihāsa*), which conduces to virtue (*dharma*), wealth (*artha*) as well as fame (*yaśas*), contains good counsel and collection of other materials for human well-being. It will give guidance to people of the future as well as in their actions. It is enriched by the teaching of all scriptures (*śāstras*) and it gives a review of all arts and crafts (*kalā* and *śilpa*). Thus, according to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, nāṭya conduces to observance of duty as well as to fame, long life, intellect and general good and educates people.

"There is no wise maxim, no learning, no art or craft, no device, no action that is not found in the drama."

18. I, 14-15 Kāvyamālā, p. 2.
19. *Ibid.*, I, 81-82, p. 7.

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Thus Bhāmaha follows the tradition, and rightly says that the study of good poetry brings forth fame, proficiency in dharma, artha, kāma, mokṣa and the *kalās*.

It is not just to say that according to Bhāmaha good poetry brings forth only proficiency in *dharma, artha, kāma, mokṣa* and the *kalās* and does not conduce to pleasure. Bhāmaha goes on to say, करोति कीर्तिं प्रीतिं च साधुकाव्यनिषेवणम्, *i.e.*, the study of good poetry produces fame and pleasure too. Thus, the ironical criticism of Bhāmaha is unjust. It only exhibits a misunderstanding about Bhāmaha, since Bhāmaha also accepts *prīti* or pleasure in poetry.

In the third prakāśa, the author describes bhāratī vṛtti—the eloquent style. Bhāratī vṛtti has four varieties—*prarocanā, vīthī, prahasana* and *āmukha*. While the author characterizes *prarocanā* and *āmukha*, he speaks about *vīthī* and *prahasana* as follows:

"वीथी प्रहसनं चापि स्वप्रसंगेऽभिधास्यते"

(*vīthī* and *prahasana* will be described in their proper contexts). Here the author confuses *vīthī* and *prahasana* as varieties of the *bhāratī vṛtti* with the types of drama known by those names. Although *vīthī* and *prahasana*—the two kinds of drama—are characterized later,[20] *vithī* and *prahasana* —the varieties of *bhāratī-vṛtti*—are not characterized anywhere in the *Dāśarūpaka*.

The *Daśarūpa* does not accept śānta as a *rasa* and does not regard *śama* as a *sthāyībhāva*—

रत्युत्साहजुगुप्साः क्रोधो हासः स्मयो भयं शोकः ।
शममपि केचित् प्राहुः पुष्टिर्नाट्येषु नैतस्य[21]

Dhanika in his commentary on this *kārikā* mentions many kinds of opponents of śāntarasa. Some people do not accept

20. III. 54–56 and 68-69.

21. *Daśarūpa*, IV. 35.

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śāntarasa since Bharata did not characterize its vibhāvas etc. Others do not recognize its very existence because likes and dislikes existing from time immemorial cannot be done away with. Some other people include it in rasas like *vīra* and *bībhatsa*. Thus they do not accept *śama* also as a *sthāyībhāva*. Be it whatsoever. The commentator after stating these several views remarks—

"सर्वथा नाटकादावभिनयात्मनि स्थायित्वमस्माभिः शमस्य निषिध्यते, तस्य समस्तव्यापारप्रविलयरूपस्याभिनयायोगात्।" [22]

Abhinavagupta, a contemporary of the author, on the other hand, regards *śānta* as the ninth and the most important rasa.[23] Śrīkriṣṇa Miśra, only in 11th century A.D. composed his famous allegorical drama the *Prabodha-Candrodaya* wherein *śānta* is the principal rasa—

"तद्वयं शान्तरसप्रयोगाभिनयेनात्मानं विनोदयितुमिच्छामः ततो यत्पूर्वमस्मद्-गुरुभिस्तत्रभवद्भिः श्रीकृष्णमिश्रैः प्रबोधचन्द्रोदयं नाम नाटकं निर्माय भवतः समर्पित-मासीत् तदद्य राज्ञः श्रीकीर्तिवर्मणः पुरस्तादभिनेतव्यं भवता।" [24]

Thus, Abhinavagupta and others add one more rasa—*śānta* to this list of eight rasas.[25]

A permanent state—a *sthāyībhāva* is not interfered with by any other bhāvas—states whether consistent with it or inconsistent. A *sthāyībhāva* brings other bhāvas into

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22. *Daśarūpaka*, p. 219, Chowkhambhā, Vārāṇasī.

23. *Abhinavabhārati* vol. I p. 340.

24. *Prabodhacandrodaya*. First Act p. 6-7, Chowkhambhā, 1955.

25. *Daśarūpaka*, p. 219 Chowkhambhā, Vārāṇasī; *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 3.182. Rudrāṭa's *Śṛṅgāratilaka* 1.10; *Agnipurāṇa* 338. 13—15; Bhojarāja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* 5.14; *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa 30; Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśnuśāsana* 2 p. 83; *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra* 5.4; Vagbhaṭa's *Kāvyānuśāsana* 5 p. 53; Bhanudattas *Rasataräṅgiṇī* 7 p. 59—61. Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa* 41 p. 221; *Alañkāraśekhara* 20—31; *Kāvyapradīpa* 4.7; Jagannātha's *Rasagaṅgādhara* p. 29-30; *Sāhityasāra* 4.49. 56, 57; *Sāhityakaumudī* 4.7; *Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa* 38.

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harmony with itself.[26] Now bhāvas like Nirveda are impermanent since they do not possess the above-mentioned characteristics. So they cannot be *sthāyībhāvas*—permanent states. Thus there are only eight *sthāyibhāvas* resulting in eight corresponding rasas. There is no *sānta* rasa.

Furthermore, the following statement about *sānta rasa* is found–

"शान्तरसस्य चानभिनेयत्वात् यद्यपि नाट्येऽनुप्रवेशो नास्ति तथापि सूक्ष्मातीतादिवस्तूनां सर्वेषामपि शब्द‹तिपाद्यताया विद्यमानत्वात् काव्यविषयत्वं न निवार्यते। अतस्तदुच्यते शमप्रकर्षोऽनिर्वाच्यो मुदितादेस्तदात्मता।

शान्तो हि यदि तावत्—

न यत्र दुःखं न सुखं न चिन्ता
न रागद्वेषौ न च काचिदिच्छा।
रसस्तु शान्तः कथितो मुनीन्द्रैः
सर्वेषु भावेषु शमप्रधानः॥ इत्येवंलक्षणः

तदा तस्य मोक्षावस्थायामेवात्मस्वरूपापत्तिलक्षणायां प्रादुर्भावात्, तस्य च स्वरूपेणानिर्वचनीयतां श्रुतिरपि स एष नेति नेति इत्यन्यापोहरूपेणाह। न च तथाभूतस्य शान्तरसस्य सहृदयाः स्वादयितारः सन्ति। अथापि तदुपायभूतो मुदितामैत्रीकरुणोपेक्षादिलक्षणस्तस्य च विकासविस्तरविक्षोभरूपतैवेति तदुक्तयैव शान्तरसास्वादो निरूपितः।"[27]

Thus *śānta rasa* cannot be described. Haas translates the above part[28] of the *kārikā* as follows–"The quietistic sentiment (Śamaprakarṣa-śāntarasa) [which arises] from happiness and the like, is to be defined as a state having that [i.e. happiness] as its essential nature." This translation is inconsistent with *avaloka* in so far as the translator accepts रायप्रकर्डो निर्वाच्यः and not रामप्रकार्षेनिर्वाच्यः[29]

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26. विरुद्धैरविरुद्धैर्वा भावैर्विच्छिद्यते न यः।
आत्मभावं नयत्यन्यान् स स्थायी लवणाकरः॥ *Daśarūpaka* IV. 34.

27. *Daśarūpaka*, p. 251.

28. IV. 45.

29. Please read Jacobi (in *Göttingischegelehrte Anzeigen* 1913 pp. 304 f.) for criticism of Haas on other points and also Barnett in JRAS, 1913 p. 190 f.

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Thus according to Dhanañjaya and Dhanika *śāntarasa* cannot be accepted in a drama on account of its being unsuitable for imitation or dramatic expression, since the quietistic sentiment is the very cessation of all activities. However, since words can express all things such as are minute or belong to the past, *śānta* may be accepted as a subject of poetry.

Dhanañjaya accepts *ānanda* or joy to be the main thing in a drama. Dramas are based on *rasa* or sentiment.[30] He begins the IVth *prakāśa* with a description of *rasa*—

"विभावैरनुभावैश्च सात्त्विकैर्व्यभिचारिभिः।
आनीयमानः स्वाद्यत्वं स्थायीभावो रसः स्मृतः॥ [31]

Further he elucidates *rasa* in the following lines—

पदार्थैरिन्दुनिर्वेदरोमाञ्चादिस्वरूपकैः।
काव्याद्विभावसञ्चार्यनुभावप्रख्यतां गतैः॥
भावितः स्वदते स्थायी रसः स परिकीर्तितः। [32]

Rasa is 'rasa' because it is enjoyed— रसनाद् रसः। Dhanañjaya also says, रसः एव स्वाद्यत्वात्[33] While explaining rasa he says, "भावितः स्वदते स्थायी रसः स परिकीर्तितः" Dhanañjaya appears to be influenced by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka when he uses words such as ावितः (रसः) विभावयति रत्यादीन्[34] काव्यार्थभावनास्वादः[35] According to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka there are three powers of words, i.e., *abhidhā*, *bhāvanā*, and *bhoga*. The view of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is put forward by Abhinavagupta as follows—

"तस्मात् काव्ये दोषाभावगुणालंकारमयत्वलक्षणेन, नाट्ये चतुर्विधाभिनयरूपेण निबिडनिजमोहसंकटतानिवारणकारिणा विभावादिसाधारणीकरणात्मना

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30. आनन्दनिस्यन्दिषु रूपकेषु (1·6) दशचैव रसाश्रयम्।
—*Daśarūpaka*.
31. *Daśarūpaka*, IV. 1.
32. *Daśarūpaka* 4. 45—47.
33. *Daśarūpaka* IV. 47.
34. *Daśarūpaka* IV. 40.
35. *Daśarūpaka* IV. 42.

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अभिधातो द्वितीयेनांशेन भावकत्व-व्यापारेण भाव्यमानो रसोऽनुभवस्मृत्यादिविलक्षणेन परब्रह्मास्वादसविधेन भोगेन परं भुज्यते इति।" [36]

The influence of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is more explicit in the *avaloka*. The commentator says,

"अतो न रसादीनां काव्येन सह व्यंग्यव्यञ्जकभावः। किं तर्हि? भाव्यभावक-सम्वन्धः। काव्यं हि भावकं,भाव्या रसादयः। ते हि स्वतो भवन्तएव भावकेषु विशिष्ट-विभावादिमता काव्येन भाव्यन्ते। न चान्यत्र शब्दान्तरेषु भाव्यभावकलक्षणसम्वन्धा-भावात् काव्यशब्देष्वपि तथा भाव्यमिति वाच्यम्। भावनाक्रियावादिभिस्तथांगी-कृतत्वात्। किञ्च मा चान्यत्र तथास्तु। अन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यामिह तथावगमात्। तदुक्तम्—भावाभिनयसम्वन्धान् भावयन्ति रसानिमान्।

यस्मात्तस्मादमी भावा विज्ञेया नाट्ययोक्तृभिः॥ इति

...यथा च काव्यार्थस्य रसभावकत्वं तथाग्रे वक्ष्यामः।" [37]

Neither Dhanañjaya nor Dhanika mention भोज कत्वव्यापा the third power of words according to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. Thus the authors go half way only.

The views of *dhvani school* are put forward, criticised and rejected. As mentioned above, although the influence of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is explicit, their view regarding the meaning of poetry is confused or at least there is duplicity. They hold that a *sthāyībhāva*—a permanent state when combined with other *bhāvas*—states, is *vākyārtha* meaning of a sentence, i.e., *rasa*. Thus *bhāvas* (other than *sthāyībhāva*) represent *padārtha*—meaning of a word and *sthāyībhāva* combined with other *bhāvas* is meaning of a sentence. The authors follow *Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṁsakas* and accept also the suggested meaning to be the meaning of a sentence—

"न चापदार्थस्य वाक्यार्थत्वं नास्तीति वाच्यम्, कार्यपर्यवसायित्वात् तात्पर्य-शक्तेः।.......तत्र विभावादयः पदार्थस्थानीयास्तत्संसृष्टो रत्यादिः वाक्यार्थः। तदे-तत् काव्यवाक्यं यदीयं ताविमौ पदार्थ वाक्यार्थौ।" [38]

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36. अभिनवभारती (नाट्यशास्त्र) Vol. I pp. 277.
37. *Daśarūpaka* with Avaloka pp. 243-244.
38. *Daśarūpaka* p. 238.

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In the first *prakāśa* also the authors say—

"दशधैव रसाश्रयम् .... अन्यद् भावाश्रयं नृत्यम्। (Kārikā) .....नाटकादि च रसविषयम्, रसस्य च पदार्थीभूतविभावादिकसंसर्गात्मकवाक्यार्थ-हेतुकत्वाद्वाक्यार्थाभिनयात्मकत्वं रसाश्रयमित्यनेन दर्शितम्।... वाक्यार्थाभिनया-त्मकान् नाट्यात् पदार्थाभिनयात्मकमन्यदेव नृत्यमिति।" [39]

Dhanañjaya in the following *kārikā* says that *sthāyī bhāva* combined with other *bhāvas*, is meaning of a poetic sentence.

वाच्या प्रकरणादिभ्यो बुद्धिस्था वा यथा क्रिया।
वाक्यार्थः कारकैर्युक्ता स्थायीभावस्तथेतरैः। [40]

This *kārikā* has been explained by Dhanika accordingly.

Although *tātparya-śakti* is accepted to be responsible for all the meanings of a sentence, the authors are not satisfied with this view and they go ahead to hold that only those people can enjoy poetry who are *rasikas*—people endowed with permanent states (*sthāyī bhāvas*) such as *rati*—love:

"विशिष्टविभावादिसामग्री विदुषामेव तथाविधरत्यादिभावनावतामेव स्वा-नन्दोद्भूतेः" [41]

Here it is clear that the authors realize the truth contained in the following *kārikā of Dhvanyāloka*—

"शब्दार्थशासनज्ञानमात्रेणैव न वेद्यते।
वेद्यते स तु काव्यार्थतत्त्वज्ञैरेव केवलम्।।

Hence, it is clear that Dhanika does not hold *kāvyārtha* to be *vākyārtha* only. It is something more, it is *bhāvyārtha*.

They criticise the doctrine of *dhvani school* following *Bhāṭṭamīmāṁsakas* and hold *kāvyārtha* or *rasa* to be *vākyārtha*, but they give up this stand and jump to the school of *Bhāvanākriyāvādins*. Thus, first they put forward व्यंग्यव्यञ्जकभाव. Secondly, they accept तात्पर्यशक्ति of *Bhāṭṭa*

39. *Daśarūpaka* pp. 4. 5.
40. *Daśarūpaka* IV. 37.
41. *Daśarūpaka* p. 24.

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Mīmāṁsakas and accepting their logic, criticise and refute व्यंग्यव्यञ्जकभाव. Thirdly, they accept भाव्यभावक relationship between poetry and *rasa* etc. without any valid reason. The only ground to accept this view is that the *bhāvanākriyāvādins* accept this view.[42]

While criticising and cancelling *dhvani school* he says—

"ईदृशि च वाक्यार्थनिरूपणे परिकल्पिताभिधादिशक्तिवशेनैव समस्तवाक्यार्थावगतेः शक्त्यन्तरपरिकल्पनं प्रयासः। यथावोचाम काव्यनिर्णये—

तात्पर्यानतिरेकाच्च व्यञ्जनीयस्य न ध्वनिः।
एतावत्येव विश्रान्तिस्तात्पर्यस्येति किङ्कृतम्।
यावतकार्यप्रसारित्वात् तात्पर्यं न तुलाधृतम्॥"

His conclusion is not refusal of *dhvani* and acceptance of *tātparyārtha* but refusal of *dhvani* and acceptance of *bhāvyārtha*. This acceptance is without any valid reason. The same *Bhāṭṭamīmāṁsakan* logic employed by Dhanika to disprove *dhvani* can also disprove *bhāvanā*. Thus *bhāvyārtha* also can be included in *tātparyārtha—vākyārtha*.

Dhanika can not accept it, because according to him only poetic words have the power of *bhāvanā* and not non-poetic words—

"न चान्यत्र शब्दान्तरेषु भाव्यभावकलक्षणसम्बन्धाभावात् काव्यशब्देष्वपि तथा भाव्यमिति वाच्यम्—भावनाक्रियावादिभि तथांगीकृतत्वात्। किञ्च मा चान्यत्र तथास्तु अन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्याम् इह तथावगमात्।"

Thus, the view held by the authors about *rasa* is shaky and confused and involves duplicity. In the end, I have to say the following reproduced śloka, following Mahima Bhaṭṭa—

इह सम्प्रतिपत्तितोऽन्यथा वा दशरूपस्य वचोविवेचनं नः।
नियतं यशसे प्रपत्स्यते यन्महतां संस्तव एव गौरवाय॥

42. See above footnote no. 37.
43. *Daśarūpaka* pp. 240–242.

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GLORIES OF THE LATER VEERAŚAIVA RULERS OF THE SANGAMA DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

By B. V. SRINIVASA RAO*

(Continued from Vol. XXII Parts 3—4 Page 250)

A.D. 1432

(Corresponding to Kali 4533, Śaka 1353-54, Chaitrādivikrama 1489, Meshādi Solar Year in Bengal 838, Kollam 606-607, Virōdhakriṭ Samvatsara.)

The record dated 1432 A.D. of Vijaya Bhūpati, the father of Devarāya II, says that Vijaya eclipsed all the learned in learning. He was known as Bhoja re-born.[1]

Another record dated the same 1432 A.D. says that Prathāpa Devarāya as per Mr. Venkayya, was the younger brother of Devarāya II and not his son.[2]

Lakkaṇṇa and Mādaṇṇa handed over charge of the Tekal province to Sāluva Goparāja.[3]

Mahāpradhāna Lakkaṇṇa Oḍeya was the Governor of Honnāvar Country in 1432 A.D.[4]

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1. M.A.R. 1916 para 100 vide p. 1560 Mys. Gaz. Vol. II part III R.H.R.

2. M.E.R. 1904, para 22 Appendix B. No. 229 Vide P. 1566 Mys. Gaz. Vol. II part III, R.H.R.

3. E.C.X. Malur, 3 also Malur. 1 vide P. 1585, Mys. Gaz. Vol. II part III, R.H.R.

4. P. 43, A.RK.R. in Bombay Province for the year 1939-40 K.R.O.D. by R.S. Panchamukhi.

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Lakkaṇṇa was ruling at Muluvayal Nāḍu.[5]

The Gomata Image at Kārkala is 41 feet and 5 inches large and it was composed in 1432 A.D. It was set up by Veerapāṇḍya a son of Bhāravendra of the Lunar race.[6]

The Bali Pīṭha of Śrīkanteśwara Temple at Nāñjanagūdu was made by Ganāchāri, Hariyaṇṇa.[7]

Certain individuals and his family were made over to the Ādivarāha Perumāl Temple to look after the lamps in 1432-33 A.D.[8]

Kārkala Image (in South Kanara) being 41 feet 5 inches in height and weighing about 80 tonnes was moved certainly to the place where it now stands and its date luckily is engraved upon it.[9]

Name of the capital in 1432 A.D. (1) Hampe Hastināvaṭi, (2) Vijayanagari.[10]

As we come from 1407 A.D. to 1532 A.D. we come across various inscriptions in which Devarāya II protected all the Varṇāśrama Dharma.[11]

While one Śrigirinātha Oḍeyar was ruling the Arga country a raid (Pathāvali) came to Kolavatige whom one

5. I.A. 57 PP. 77—85 May 1928.

6. J.G. Vol. XXIII Oct. Nov. and Dec., 1927.

7. Arch-Survey, Mysore for 1910, P. 49.

8. M.E.R. P. 12 G.O. Nos. 678, 679, Public 12th August.

9. History of Indian and Eastern Architecture Vol. II, P. 72 by Furgusson 1910 and P. 353 Asiatic Researches Vol. IX P. 285 I.A. Vol. II, P. 353.

10. E.C. V. CH. 24 and E.C.V. CH. 241.

11. E.C. VIII Ti. 122, 190, 131, 222, 205, 142, 148, 144, 2, 14 E.C. VII, Sh. 71 E.C. VIII. Ti. 23 E.C. VII Sh. 70.

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Puttagade, fought against it and fell in the battle like Kumāra Ramānātha, who went to heaven.[12]

Devarāya II granted the village named Kelagundani belonging to Gutti as a sarvamānya to Śriṅgeri Swāmi Purushothama Bhārati and Village named Kaiga (in Konkana-Ventheya in the Goa Kingdom was granted to this Śriṅgeri Guru for the worship of God Mahābala for the upkeep of Maṭha and for feeding Brahmins.[13]

Remission of the marriage taxes on all castes at Katapi Hindupur Taluk, Anantapur District. The curious benediction at the end states that the married people who go round this Nandi (Bull) will be blessed with many children.[14]

Gift of land made by several seṭṭis of Ariyakeri Udupi Taluk for offerings etc., in the Temple of Vināyakadeva Chandeswari and Nārāyaṇadeva and for the expenses of special service in those temples on Deepavali and other important days.[15]

Chandarasa Odeya was governing Bārakūru rājya under the command of the Mahāpradhāna Perumāla Deva Daṅnāyaka and there is a reference to Brahmins and Vedapeeṭhās there.[15]

Devarāya II made a grant Sarvamānya as usual of a village known as Manjgani to Śrī Purushothamāraṇya Yatīndra the Jagadguru of Śringeri.[16]

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12. E.C. VIII. Ti. 23, Part II, P. 460, P. 13, Q.J.M.S. Vol. XX July 1929.
13. M.E.R. 1916 P. 60-61.
14. M.E.R. 1918, 6th Sept. P. 79 Nos. 765 No. 1172.
15. P. No. 282, A.R. for 1931-32.
16. Selections from the Records of Sringeri Mutt Vol. I.

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The Jainacelossus at Kārkala was dedicated and consecrated on Feb. 13, 1432 A.D.[17]

Gift of villages Kelaguṅdani and Kaigai with hamlets in the Goa Kingdom by Devarāya II to the Guru Śrī Puruṣothamāraṇya. Nārāyaṇīdevī, the mother of King Devarāya II was a devotee of Viṣṇu and by the favour of that God, the son Devarāya was born to her. This above grant helped the temple of Mahābala of Gōkarṇa in West Coast.[18]

A record dated 1432 A.D. praises the poet Maṅgarasa and his musical modes.[19]

Gifts made to Pārśvadeva of the Basti at Kaikini (Bhatkal pīṭha, N. Kanara Dist.). Seven Jannis of the Nadu made grant of land to the above mentioned Basti. Those lands were purchased from Bhairavadeva Odeya. Isāraṇyaka son of Ajjanāyaka, made a land grant of Kodage, to the above noted Basti. Sati-Setti a son of Saṇṇanāyak and Gummatadeva, made similar grants to the Basti, for alms and the God's Mukbath etc., Mayilunāyaka granted a piece of land for defraying the expenses of worship and sandal to Pārśvanātha.[20]

Veerapāṇḍya Bhairava Arasa, installed image of Gomata on Phālguna Sudi Dvādaśī. This function Devarāya II attended.[21]

Shaṁbhu Kālguda prepared the image of Gomata of Kārkala.[22]

17. H.I.S.I. by S.K.I. 1432 A.D.

18. A.R. of Mys. Arch. Dept. for the year 1933, P. 162—164.

19. E.C. II. No. 258, P. 121 S.P.L. in Vij. Empire by B.A.S.

20. K.I. Vol. I. P. 120 No. 51 of 1939-40, edited by R. S. Panchamukhi.

21. Kārkalada Cheritre by D. Puttaswami.

22. P. 29 Vivekabhudyaya, Feb. 1956 by D. Puttaswami, Mangalore.

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Manavāla Mahāmuni delivered his first lecture on Idu on Aug. 29th, 1432 A.D.[23]

Renovation of the temple of God Kāraikkáṇṭhīśvaran-Uḍaiya Nāyinār Nīlakaṇṭha.[24]

Devarāya II revived Vedapārāyaṇṁ in Śrī Venkaṭeśwara Shrine at Thirumalai.[25]

Gift of Villages Koḍuyālam and Sirundavūr by Anna-chowndappa son of Adithyadeva for conducting a car festival in the temple of Śrīrangam.[26]

Devamahārāja son of Gummadūri, Koṇḍurāja Chinna-rājā gave this charitable edict to Ganga Parameśwari Goddess of all the sciences, a presentation to Devata the village with libation of water and gift of gold for the performance of Jātrā (Festival of Gangamma temple).[27]

A.D. 1433

(Corresponding to Kali 4534, Śaka 1354-55, Chaitrādi Vikrama 1490, Meshādi Solar Year in Bengal 839, Kollam 607-608, Parādhāvin Samvatsara.)

The name of Rājamundri Reddy Chief "Vema" or Allaya Vema is mentioned.[1]

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23. Q.J.M.S. P. 205 April 1917 Vol. VII.
24. T.A.S. Vol. VII part I P. 35 No. 18.
25. T.T.D. Epigraphical series part I, P. 6.
26. A.R.S.I.E. for 1939, P. 86.
27. Collections of Inscriptions on Copper Plates and Stones in Nellore Dist. Part I, by Alan Butterworth and V. V. Chetti Dharsi. '20 P. 312.

1. H.I.S.I. by S.K.I. P. 386.

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The year 1433 A.D. is the last year of Āgra Province by Śrīgirināthа Odeyar son of Rāyaṇṇa Oḍeya.[2]

The year 1433 A.D. is the last year of the Governorship of Mulbāgal by Lakkaṇṇa.[3]

Lakkaṇṇa was a Governor for Tekal Province.[5]

Jayagowda who had the title Yelahanka Nāḍu Prabhu was a Feudatory of Devarāya II. He ruled Bangalore Dist. from 1418 to 1433 A.D. These Gowdās Vokkalu, were of Telugu origin.[6]

Devarāya II is otherwise known as Immidi Mahādeva-rāya in 1433-34 A.D.[6]

Gift of land made to Mallaṇṇa a son of Kayaṇṇa who died fighting with the robbers who looted the Madhukeśwara Temple (Banavāsi, Ayya son of Chikka Deva Oḍeya, Bana-vāsi, entitled Tribhuvana Bhaṭṭāchārya was administering Banavāsi Sthāna and Mahāpradhāna Bychaih Daṅṅanāyaka was governing Gove and Cittiya-Vante.[7] Mahādeva Arama-lavatta Nāchchiyār and his elder sister paid a visit to Deva-rāya Mahārāya and procured this gift.[8]

Gift of land by purchase for offering cakes to the image Alagiya Pilliyar set up in the temple by one of the Kaṇṇa-

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2. Mys. Gaz. Vol. II Part III R.H.R. P. 1583.
3. Mys. Gaz. Vol. II, Part III, R.H.R. P. 1585.
4. I.A. Vol. 57. May 1928, PP. 77–85.
5. I. A. Vol. 61 Parts 1 to 12 1843 PP. 215–219.
6. Gaz Lewis. Rice Vol. II, P. 20-21 and M.E.R. Public 25 July 1901, P. 21 No. 117, No. 762, 763.
7. A.R. for 1935-36 No. 119 P. 170.
8. M.E.R. 16th August, 1919 P. 69, No. 229 G.O. No. 1003.

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malars. This temple of Caidyanātha is at the Tirumala Nāḍu (Uḍayar Pālyam Tq. Tiruchinopolly District).[9]

Grant of land by a certain Yasīrasetti, for feeding Brahmins in the Mahāliṅgeśwara temple (Beerūr, Kundāpur Tq. S.K.).[10]

Grant of land etc., made by Adhikāri Sannunāyaru and the several people of Bailur to a certain Nārāyana Bhaṭṭa for expounding the purāṇas daily in the temple of Madakeśvara and also the gifts made to the same donee by Sureśvara Śrīpāda, and the several people for expounding Purāṇas, on 30 days of the month of Shrāvaṇa in the Maṭha of Śrīpāda. Mahāpradhāna Purushōthama Deva Oḍeya was a ruler of Thururya from the Capital at Bārakūru."[11]

Mahāpradhāna Purushōthama Oḍeya a Governor of Bārakūru Rājyam, gift of land made to Gujjodu Nārā yaṇa Bhatta by Surēswara Śrīpada and the people at large for the daily recital of purāṇa in Markandeśwara temple throughout the year.[12]

Gift of land made over to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa by the people for conducting the daily recitals of Purānam in Mārkaṇḍeśwara Temple at Bailur, Bhatkal Pītha, N. Kanara Dist.[13]

Tulu Kingdom from Bārakūru as capital was governed by Mahāpradhāna Purushothama Deva Oḍeya. Local Officer, Saṇṇu Nāyaru along with the people of Bailūru

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9. M.E.R. 31st Aug. 1920 P. 55 No. 4 G.O. No. 985.

10. A.R.S.I.E. for 1927-28 P. 39 No. 414.

11. A.R. for 1929-30 P. 74 No. 117.

12. K.I. Vol. I edited by R.S. Panchamukhi P. 126 No. 53 of 1939-40.

13. A.R. of 1939-40 P. 130-131 No. 54.

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Desa made a grant of land as Dharmasthala to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa a son of Gujādiya Keśava for reading of purāṇa in Mārkaṇḍeswara temple Bailūr Talūk, Bhatkal pīṭha, N. Kanara Dist.[14]

Gift of Villages, Kodiyālam and Sirudavūr to Uttama Nambi, the officer-in-charge of the Śrīrangam Ranganātha temple by Aṇṇa Chauḍappa, son of Adityadeva for conducting a cār festival in the Śrīrangam temple. An elephant was also presented to Śrīrangam temple for service.[15]

Mention is made of Devaṇṇa Oḍeyar, who received some Kanikkai, for Rāja-Bandaram from one Śathakipanaṁbi, Gōvindan of Thirupathi, in connection with the sale of a house by him to the temple.[16]

Manuri Devala granted the following taxes for the Divine service of the God Narasimhadeva: Tax on marriage, on carts, slaves, horses, bullocks, cows, buffaloes and other live stock, on all kinds of grains, oil, women's cloth, on temples, watcher's fees (Sunka-Kama Talari kaṭṭaṁ) and place tax.[17]

King Devarāya II granted the following villages: (1) Kulamānikyanallūr (2) Thiruvarānganallūr, (3) Ramānarāyananallūr, (4) Kumārakkuḍi, (5- Rājan Nārāyana Nallūr, to Perumāl Uthamā Namdi of Kāśyapagotra. He was the Sthānapati to Śrīrangam temple. These villages were granted to him for conducting the daily worship of God Śrīranganātha of Śrīrangam. These above villages were situated in Chōlamanḍala and in the Trisīrapalli Rājya. A large

14. K.I. Vol. I. Edited by R.S. Panchamukhi P. 133 No. 55 of 1939-40.

15. A.R.S.I.E. for 1939 P. 11, No. 7.

16. T.TD. Epigraphical sales Part I, P. 134.

17. S.P.L. in Vij. Empire, Vol. I, by B.A.S. P. 157.

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number of taxes and incomes from the above villages are noted in this inscription such as Nanjai (wet land) Punjai (dry land) Kāmuku (Araca grove) Karṇṇu (Margosa) Teṇṇamaran (Coconut trees) Koluṅḍu (Plantain trees) Karambu (Sugar Cane) Manjal (Turmaric) Inji (Jinger) Senkalunir (Flower) Tarikkadamai (Tax on looms) Marakkadamai (tax on trees) Sekkukadamai (tax on oil Mills) Mavadaị (Good Bull) Nāl Kida (Good Sheep) Nal Pasu (Good Cow) Jodi (water tax) Uliṅgam (services etc.). The Municipal taxes were levied very carefully. The income granted to the donee included Vari (Revenue Tax). Magamai and Suṅka (Tolls).[18]

1434 *A.D.*

(Corresponding to Kali year 4535; Śaka; 1356; Chaitrādi Vikrama 1401; Mēshādi Solar year in Bengal 840; Kollam 608-609; Pramādhi samvaṭsara).

The year 1434 A.D. marks the name of Vema or Allayya Vema of a family of Reḍḍi chief of Rājahmundry (Branch B) who ruled jointly with Veerabhadra. The name of Allaya Dodda II of the family of Reddi Chiefs of Rājahmundry is mentioned in 1434 A.D.[1]

Gopa Thippa the grandson of Harīma the sister of Devarāya II who governed Tekal with his father Goparāja, was a Saṅskrit scholar. Among his works are Kāmadhenu, a commentary on Vāmana's Kāvyalaṅkāra-sūtra, Tāladeepaka, a work on music.[2]

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18. E.I. Vol. XVIII July 1925.
1. H.I.S.I. by S.K.I. p. 386.
2. Mys. Gaz. Vol. II, part III, R.H.R. P. 1594.

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Lakkaṇṇa handed over Tekal nāḍu to Sālva Gopatippa.[3] Vīrakeralamārthāṇḍavarman was a king of Travancore whose period is from 1403 to 1434 A.D.[4]

The western gopuram of Rāmeśwaram was built entirely of hewn stone and the outer surrounding walls are said to be the work of Udyan Setipati and Komatti of Nāgūr, near Nāgapattanam in 1434 A.D.[5]

King Devarāya II granted the villages Kutamānikyanallūr, Thiruvaranganallūr, Rāmanārāyaṇanallūr, Kumārakkuḍi, Rājanārāyaṇanllūr to Perumāl Uthamanambi of Kāśyapagotra. These villages are in Chōlamaṇḍala and in the Trisirappallirājya. He was the Sthānapati of the Śrīrangam Temple.[6]

Śiṅgaṇṇadaṅṅāyaka and Aṇṇopa Oḍeya were the Governors of Bārakūru Rājyam in 1434-35 A.D.[7]

Gift of three villages in Rājagambhīravalanāḍu on the southern bank.[8]

Gift of lands made by Chiddi, Sovaṇṇasetti to the Maṭha constructed by him in the temple of Koṭināthadeva at Kudukūsu (Udupi Tq S.K.) for feeding Brahmins, therein. Mahāpradhāna Chandarasa Oḍeya was Governor of Bārakūru Rājyam.[9]

Gift of land made by Kiriya Ravisetti, to a Maṭha, constructed by him in the temple of Somanatha Deva (Udupi

3. Article on Dynastic continuity in Vij. Hist. by B.A.S.
4. Q.J.M.S. Vol. XVII July 1925 P. 36, 39.
5. I.A. Vol. XII 1883, P. 315.
6. E.I. Vol. XVI July 1923, Part III, P. 112.
7. M.E.R. Public 25th July 1901 P. 17 No. 109 Nos. 762, 763.
8. M.E.R. Public 2nd July 1906 P. 9, No. 19 No. 492,
9. A.R. for 1931-32, P. 28 No. 246.

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Tq. S.K.) when Aṇṇapa Oḍeya was Governor of Bārakūru Rājyam.[10]

Mallāmbikā wife of Reḍḍi Chief Kātayya Vema III of Rājahmundry gave a grant of land to the temple at Bīmāvaram.[11]

King came to Macenahalli for hunting and visited the God Jaṭaṅgirāma; on this occasion he directed that a village yielding an income of 20 Varāha, was to be granted to the local God.[12]

In the record dated 1334 A.D. which has been cited above Sāluva Thipparāya Oḍeyar is styled as a hawk to royal birds, Rāja Pakṣi Sāluva.[13]

Gift of land for lamps to the Temple by certain servants and chief at the door of the king of Travancore.[14]

Gift of land for lighting perpetual lamps in the temple of Nayinar Kuluśekara Muḍaiya Nāyinār.[15]

Manavāla Mahāmuni's lecture and the performances ended in June 20th 1434 A.D.[16]

The following are the taxes mentioned in an inscription of Śaka 1356 (1434-35 A.D.) Kāmaku (Aracca groves) Karṇṇuvaipu (Margosa) Teṅṅa Maram (Cocoanut trees) Koluṅduvalai (plantain) Karumbu (Sugar cane) Mañjal (Terma-

10. A.R. for 1931-32 P. 28 No. 245.
11. H.I.S.I. by S.K.I. 1434 A.D.
12. E.C. XI. Mk. 32, P. 25 and S.P.L. in Vij. Empire Vol. II by B.A.S.
13. E.C. X Mk. 1 and S.P.L. in Vij. Empire Vol. III, by B.A.S. P. 424.
14. Trav. Arch. Dept. Report for 1925 P. 32 No. II.
15. Trav. Arch. Dept. Report for 1934 Appendix D. P. 17 No. 4.
16. Q.J.M.S. Vol. III April, P. 205.

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ric) Inji (Jinger) Senkalumir (flower) Vanpayir (Minor cultivation) Vasal Variper Kadamai tarikkadmai (tax on looms) Marakkadamai (taxes on trees) Sekku Kadamai (tax on oils) Iditōrai, Pulāvari, Mandaikādemai, Olugunirpattam, Ullayan, Vilpanam, Maghamai, Mallyimāhamai, Ināvari Nattukanikai, Kaddyan, Kirākula, Visheshām, Aresuperu, Nallerudu (Good Bull), Nelkida, Nālpasu (Good Cow), Pālastal, Arāsikanām Talaiyarikkam, Madarikkai, Tayasāvarattanni, Karanike, Kottigevaratanai, Jodi, Narānivarail (Water Tax), Nattukanekkuvarai, Akkasalevari, Almanji, and Uligan (Service).[17]

1435 *A.D.*

(Corresponding to Kali 4536, Śaka 1356-57, Chaitrādi Vikrama 1492, Mēshādi Solar Year Bengal 841, Kollam 609-610 Ānanda Samvatsara).

27th February 1435 A.D. Marks the close of the period of Ahamed I (Bahamini Chief) and accession of Alla-ud-dīn II, 27th Feb. 1435 A.D.[1]

Mohammad Khān, a brother of Alla-ud-dīn of Bahamini Clan invaded Vijayanagar, Bahamini army became victorious. The defeated Devarāya II made treaty with him, by giving 22 elephants, 200 female slaves, skilled in music and dancing and a great sum of money. Mohammad rebelled against his brother, and was befriended by Devarāya II in his action. The Sultān utterly defeated Devarāya II. But still Alla-ud-din forgave him and gave him the fort of Raīchur.[2]

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17. S.P.L. in Vij. Empire Vol. I, by B.A.S. P. 156-57 and E.I. Vol. XVIII, P. 139.

1. H.I.S.I. by S.K.I. P. 237.

2. Mys. Gaz. Vol. II, Part III, R.H.R. P. 1573-74.

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Devarāya II allowed Muslims to settle in Vijayanagar by giving Jāgirs to them. He erected a mosque for their use. His order was that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion. He ordered that a copy of Koran should be placed before his throne on a rich desk, that the Muslims might perform the ceremony of obeisance in his presence, without sinning against their laws. Muslims and Hindus were combined in his archery service. 2000 Muslims were skilled in archery.[3]

Both Lakkaṇṇa and Mādaṇṇa became Oḍeyars in 1435 A.D.[4]

Kapilēśwara ruled Orissa in 1435 A.D.[5]

The accession of Kapiléśwara in Kaliṅga in 1435 A.D. naturally resulted in a Gajapati invasion of the Kingdom of Rājahmundry. Rājahmundry sought the help of Devarāya II. Devarāya II responded. His troops drove the Kalinga army and secured a temporary respite for the kingdom of Rājahmundry.[6]

Kapilendradeva set up here the Gajapati Dynasty.[7]

Mentions Rajagopala Perumāl temple at Mahimaṅgalaṁ (Chengulput Dist.).[8]

Gift of land to Vemanapurīśvara temple at Tirumanakuli (South Arcot Dist.).[9]

3. Mys. Gaz. Vol. II, Part III, R.H.R. P. 1574. Swell a forgotten empire P. 72.

4. I.A. Vol. 61, Parts 1—12, 1843. P. 215—219.

5. I.A. Vol. LXI Jan. 1932, Parts 1—12, 1843, part D.C.C. I. X. P. 19-20.

6 H.S.I. by K.A.N.S. Part III P. 259.

7 H.I. by K.A.N.S. Part II, P. 333.

8. M.E.R. P. 16 Nos. 274, No. 1093—1096, Public 29th Aug. 1898.

9. M.E.R. P. 13 No. 153. Nos. 763, 764, Public 6th Aug. 1902.

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Gift of Chikkarasa son of Mādi-arasar to Kālahastīśwara temple at Kālahasti in 1435 A.D.[10]

It fixes that two paṇaṁs were to be paid as Puttadai-nuluyām on each loom of the Kaikkolar, living in the Tirumaḍaivilagam of the temple of Tiri Vānishurani Udaiya-Nāyinār at Nerumur in Kalattur Parru.[11]

The channal (Vayttali) in Idaiyarrundu, was the charity of Mahāpradhāna Aṇṇa Choudappa Oḍeyar son of Mahā-pradhāna Aittarasar.[12]

Registers a gift of land called, Aṁpāraharavari, in Muṅganāḍu, included in the Bārakūru Rājya and of certain tolls made by Mahāpradhāna Aṇṇapa Oḍeya, to Tolāhāra Shankaranāyaka who was administering Yelare in return for which the latter was to build Maṭha attached to the temple of Hattāranārāyaṇadeva at Bārakūru and feed therein six Brahmins (daily). Aṇṇapa Oḍeya, was a Governor of Bārakūru Rājyam.[13]

Gift of land for lighting lamps in the temple of Kula-sekhara Mudiya Nāyinār and mentions the name of Travan-core King Bharata-Rāvaṇa Rāma Mārthandan.[14]

Devarāya II captured the town of Mudgal, and this place was occupied but when Allā-ud-dīn attacked in turn besiged Hindus, in Mudgal, Devarāya II submitted to Allā-ud-dīn heavy tribute and made terms with him.[15]

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10. M.E.R.P. 20. No. 193, G.O. No. 678, 679, Public, 12th Aug. 1904.
11. M.E.R. P. 36, No. 272, No. 961, Public 11th Aug. 1913.
12. A.R.S.I.E. for 1928-29 P. 18, No. 143.
13. A.R. for 1931-32 P. 5 No. 3.
14. Arch. Dept. Admn. Report, Trivandrum, 18th Jan 1934.
15. H.I.S.I. by S.K.I. 1435 A.D.

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Gift of lands in Sendanpālankaṇṇankudi as Bhattavritti to Uthamanambi, son of Uttamnambi, of Kāsypagōtra and Āsvalāyana sūtra to supervise conduct of car festival instituted in the name of Adityadeva Oḍeyār.[16]

Lease of land and grant of certain privileges by the temple authorities and the residence of Teluīguikula Kalāparam, a City of Konāḍu to three persons, for doing services in the temple during festivals of the Siva Temple (Nārttamalai) in Kulattūr Tq.[17]

Mention is made of Ambeyārāya-Udayāt son of Śrīmanmahāmaṅdaleśwara Śrī. Veerakumāra Tirumallinātha Oḍeyār.

Devarāya II who belongs to the race of moon granted the village Konnenahalli near Devabatta, situated to the south of Maghārya in Hāgaharyasthala of Rāyadurga Kingdom giving it another name Pratāparājendrapura, to the knower of the purport Veda Vedānta, Logic, Grammar, Philosophy, Lakshmīdharayya of Hareethasagotra, Āpasthamba Sūtra and Māmilva family son of Panchibhaṭṭa. Here Rāmachandra Oḍeya (Rāmachandroḍeya) was a Royal treasurer and Choundarasa was Rōyal Accountant.[18]

Among the references to Ceylon in the inscriptions of Vijayanagara Emperors and their Military commanders and Feudatories, there is no direct mention of Jaffana or its rulers until we come to 1435 A.D. The claim of Virūpakṣa that he weighed himself against gold at Ramesvaram indicates that the rulers of Jaffana must have felt the power of the Vijayanagar empire towards the close of the 14th Century A.D.

16. A.R.S.I.E. for 1939 P. 12 No. 14.
17. C.L.I.P. State P. 109.
18. Arch. Survey of Mysore Report for 1921, P. 29, 30.

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The title of Setukāvalam, born by Āryacakravartis might have been inherited from the earlier Āryacakravarthy of South India of whom it was a reality.

The title of Lord of the Eastern, Western, and Southern seas, assumed by Harihara I (1337, 1404 A.D.) probably indicates that the Vijayanagar empire had by this time checked the piratical activities, and the naval power of the Āryachakravarthies but it was necessary for the imperial general in Madhura, Lakkaṇṇa Daṅṅanāyaka to undertake some time before 1435 A.D. a campaign to destroy Iyalpanām (Jaffana).

His title or Dakṣiṇasamudrādhipati (Lord of Southern ocean) is evidence, that he was successful in this campaign and that the naval power of the Āryachakravarties was terminated, they themselves, being brought to the state of vassalage. The 14th inscription of S. 1357 (1435 A.D.) which mentions this achievement of Lakkaṇṇadaṇṇanāyaka, contains the first direct mention of the Kingdom of Jaffana in a Vijayanagar document and the first reference to it by the name Yalpānam, by which it is called to day by the Tamil[19]

19. J.R.A.S. (Ceylon) Vol. VII, Part II, new series 1961, P. 232.

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LIST OF ABREVIATIONS

A.S.I.	..	Archaeological Survey of India.
A.R.K.R.	..	Annual Report on Kannada Research.
Arch. Survey	..	Archaeological Survey.
A.R.	..	Annual Report.
A.R.S.I.E.	..	Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy.
Arch. Dept. Admn.	..	Archaeological Departmental Administration.
Anci. Karn.	..	Ancient Karnataka.
Admn. & S.L. under Vij. Empire	..	Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar Empire.
B.A.S.	..	Bhaskara Ananada Salatore.
C.L.I.	..	Chronological list of inscription.
Chro. List of Incri.	..	Chronologica list of inscription.
E.C.	..	Epigraphia Karnatica volumes.
E.I.	..	Epigraphia Indica Volumes.
H.I.S.I.	..	Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.
H.S.I.	..	History of South India.
H.I.	..	History of India.
Hist. of Tuluva	..	History of Tuluva.
Hist. of Kerala	..	History of Kerala.
I.A.	..	Indian Antiquary.
I.H.Q.	..	Indian Historical Quarterly.
J.R.M.S.A.S.	..	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.
J.G.	..	Jaina Gazette.
J.B.H.U.	..	Journal of Banaras Hindu University.
K.R.O.D.	..	Kannada Research Office, Dharwar.
K.I.	..	Kannada Inscription.
K.A.N.S.	..	K.A. Neelakanta Sāstry.
Kar. Chari.	..	Karnātaka Cheritre.
Karn. Inscri.	..	Karnāṭaka Inscriptions.
M.A.R.	..	Mysore Archaeological Report.
M.E.R.	..	Madras Epigraphical Report.

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Mys. Gaz.	..	Mysore Gazettee.
Mys. Arch. Dept.	..	Mysore Archaeological Department.
P.	..	Page.
Pp.	..	Pages.
P. State	..	Pudukotai State.
P.K.	..	Pāndyan Kingdom.
Q.J.M.S.	..	Quarterly journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
R.H.R.	..	Rao Saheb Hayavadana Rao.
S.K.I.	..	Śrī Krishnaswāmy Iyengār.
S.P.L. in Vij. Empire	..	Social and political life in Vijayanagar Empire.
T.A.S.	..	Travancore Archaeological series.
T.T.D.	..	Tirumalai Tirupathi Devasthnam.
Trav. Arch. Dept.	..	Travancore Archaeological Department.
Trav.	..	Travancore.
Vol.	..	Volume.

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INFLUENCE OF BĀṆA'S 'HARSH-CHARITA' ON RAVIṢEṆA'S PADMAPURĀṆA

By Dr. Ramakant Shukla*

It has been a common tendency with the Jain Ācāryas and poets that they very often try to transport the ideologistic literature of the Vaiṣṇava and Brāhmin cults of Hinduism into Jain ideologies. This is the reason that most of the important works of the Vaisṇavas, such as the *Padmapurāṇa*, *Harivaṁśpurāṇa* etc. are found in Jain Sanskrit literature also. Thus, it at times may seem to be doubtful as to which of the two versions is the primary and genuine. For a common man, it is not possible to analyse and find out which of these works belongs to his own cult. The religious differences as they exist, are really very wide in their approach. This has become a very formidable obstruction for the readers of Vaiṣṇava and Brāhmin cults.

Similarly some of the most famous works of later secular Sanskrit literature also have been made a part of Jain Sanskrit literature smacking of most obvious plagiarism. At places the same phraseology has been copied verbatim with minor alterations. Thus, even the famous work of Kālidasa, *Meghadūta,* has been presented under the separate name of

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a Jainācārya, in his own colour: We mean 'Pārśvābhyudaya' by Jinasenācārya. It contains 364 Mandākrāntā Vṛttas.[1]

The aim underlying this unwholesome service to literature was to exhibit Jain supremacy in literature also. Many examples to support this point may be quoted. At present the present writer proposes to confine his observations to only one poet Jainācārya Raviṣeṇa who presented his *Padmapurāṇa* or *Padmacaritaṁ* in 677-78 A.D. depicting the story of Rāma (Padma), from his own scholastic angle of vision. The *older Padmapurāṇa,* supposed to have been compiled by Maharṣi Vyāsa, which is the heritage of Vaiṣṇavism, is quite different in its approach. There is no denying the fact that Raviṣeṇa was a great genius, he wielded a facile pen and a cultured brain, was possessed of a fine imagination and secured a reputed place amongst the poets of Jain Sanskrit Rāmakathā through the presentation of his *Padmapurāṇa;* but we are compelled to question his originality and genius when we examine the various descriptions used in this work. He has borrowed ideas, similes and maxims (*sūktis*) from so many previous poets or contemporary poets. Though Raviṣeṇa has borrowed ideas, language and phraseology from *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa, Bhagwat Gītā, Mahābhārata, Pañca Tantra, Raghuvaṁśa, Abhijñānaśākuntalam, Kumāra-*

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1. Nathuram Prem: *Jain Sahitya Aur Itihas,* 1st. Ed., p. 506. He writes as follows:

"पाश्र्वाभ्युदय--यह ३६४ मन्दाक्रान्ता वृत्तों का एक खण्डकाव्य है और संस्कृत-साहित्य में अपने ढंग का अद्वितीय है। इसमें महाकवि कालिदास का सुप्रसिद्ध काव्य मेघदूत सबका सब वेष्टित है। मेघदूत में जितने भी पद्य हैं और उनके जितने भी चरण हैं वे सब एक-एक या दो-दो करके इसके प्रत्येक पद्य में प्रविष्ट कर लिये गये हैं अर्थात् मेघदूत के प्रत्येक चरण की समस्यापूर्ति के रूप में यह कौतुकावह काव्य निर्मित हुआ है। मेघदूत के अन्तिम चरणों को लेकर तो अनेक काव्य लिखे गये हैं, परन्तु सारे मेघदूत को वेष्टित कर लेनेवाला यह एक ही काव्य है।...इस काव्य की रचना जिनसेन स्वामी ने अपने सधर्मा विनयसेन की प्रेरणा से की थी और यह इनकी सबसे पहली रचना मालूम होती है।"

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sambhavaṁ and *Meghadūta etc.*,[2] here we take only the plagiarism of Raviṣeṇa from Bāṇabhaṭṭa's composition. Bāṇabhaṭṭa, born a few years earlier, has been famous as a great writer of Sanskrit prose as is supported by the Sanskrit sayings: वाणोच्छिष्टं जगत्सर्वम् and बाणस्तु पञ्चाननः etc. He was

2. A few examples are here in support of the statements:—

१. 'भस्मराशीकृताः सर्वे काकुत्स्थ ! सगरात्मजाः ।'

(वा० रामायण बाल० ४०।३०)

'भस्मसाद्भावमायाताः सुतास्ते चक्रवर्तिनः'

(पद्मपुराण, ५।२५२)

२. विद्याविनयसम्पन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।
शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ।।'

(भगवद्गीता)

'विद्याविनयसम्पन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।
शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ।।"

(पद्मपुराण, ११।२०४)

३. 'समः शत्रौ च मित्रे च तथा मानापमानयोः ।
शीतोष्णसुखदुःखेषु समः संगविवर्जितः ।।'

(गीता, १२।१८)

'मानापमानयोस्तुल्यस्तथा यः सुखदुःखयोः ।
तृणकाञ्चनयोश्चैव साधु पात्रं प्रचक्षते ।।"

(पद्मपुराण, १४।५७)

४. 'जातस्य हि ध्रुवो मृत्युर्ध्रुवं जन्म मृतस्य च ।'

(गीता, २।२७)

'जातस्य नियतो मृत्युस्ततो गर्भस्थितिः पुनः ।'

(पद्मपुराण, ३०।११३)

५. 'यदा-यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत ।
अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ।।"

(गीता, ४।७)

'आचाराणां विघातेन कुदृष्टीनां च सम्पदा ।
धर्मं ग्लानिपरिप्राप्तमुच्छ्रयन्ते जिनोत्तमाः ।।'

(पद्मपुराण, ५।२०६)

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a contemporary of Harṣavardhana, probably also of Raviṣeṇa.[3] The latter (Raviṣeṇa) drew inspiration from the

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६. 'यस्यार्थास्तस्य मित्राणि यस्यार्थास्तस्य बान्धवाः।
यस्यार्थाः स पुमांल्लोके यस्यार्थाः स सुखी नरः॥'
(पञ्चतन्त्र)
'यस्यार्थास्तस्य मित्राणि यस्यार्थास्तस्य बान्धवाः।
यस्यार्थाः स पुमाँल्लोके यस्यार्थाः स च पण्डितः॥' (पद्मपुराण, ३५।१६१)

७. 'क्षतात्किलत्रायत इत्युदग्रः क्षत्रस्य शब्दो भवनेषु रूढः।' (रघुवंश, २।५३)
"क्षतत्राणे नियुक्ता ये तेन नाथेन मानवाः।
क्षत्रिया इति ते लोके प्रसिद्धि भुवने गताः॥' (पद्मपुराण, ३।२५६)

८. 'अर्थो हि कन्या परकीय एव।' (अभिज्ञानशकुन्तल, ४।२२)
'कन्या नाम प्रभो देया परस्मायेव निश्चयात्।' (पद्मपुराण, ९।३२)

९. 'महार्हशय्या परिवर्त्तनच्युतैः स्वकेशपुष्पैरपि या स्म दूयते।
अशेत सा बाहुलतोपधायिनी निषेदुषी स्थण्डिल एव केवले॥'
(कुमारसम्भव, ५।१२)
'शयनीयगतैः पुष्पैर्या स्वकेशच्युतैरपि।
अग्रहीत् खेदमेवासौ स्थण्डिले ऽशेत केवले॥' (पद्मपुराण, ६४।८०)

१०. 'श्यामास्वङ्गं चकितहरिणप्रेक्षणे दृष्टिपातं,
वक्त्रच्छायां शशिनि शिखिनां बर्हभारेषु केशान्।
उत्पश्यामि प्रतनुषु नदीवीचिसु भ्रूविलासान्,
हन्तैकस्मिन् क्वचिदपि न ते चण्डि सादृश्यमस्ति॥'
(मेघदूत, उत्तरमेघ, ४६)
'केशपाशं मयूरीषु तस्याः पश्यामि सुन्दरम्।
अपर्याप्तशशांके च लक्ष्मीमलिकसम्भवाम्।
× × ×
शोभां तु समुदायस्य तस्याः पश्यामि न क्वचित्॥' (पद्मपुराण, ४८।१४)

3. Ravisena completed his only work, *Padmapurāṇa*, in 677-78 A.D. while Harṣavardhana, the contemporary of Bāṇa, expired in 648 A.D. The exact date of the birth of Raviṣeṇa being still in oblivion, for an assumption, we might take him to be born about the year of Harṣa's death. This means he must be at least 30 years old when he completed his '*Padmapurāṇa*.' This is the minimum proper age for the completion of a work of this magnitude. Thus it is not impossible to believe that, Raviṣeṇa at least in his infancy, must have been the contemporary of Bāṇa, the contemporary of 'Harṣavardhana'.

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former (Bāṇa) but the greatest disservice that was wrought was that the phraseology of Bāṇa's work was used for writing verse though it differs in its approach. It may be an art to versify prose and any poet adopting this practice may deserve appreciation, yet, accoording to a critic quoted below, this action is nothing short of 'dacoity'.

kaviranuharatichāyāṁ padamekaṁ pādamekamardham vā.
sakalaprabandhahartre sāhasakartre namastasmai.[4]

In view of the above quotation Raviṣeṇa falls in the category of 'sāhasakartā', specially at places where he simply versifies the prose phraseology of Bāṇa. We shall discuss Raviṣeṇa's plagiarism from Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa's composition—*Harṣacarita* —under two heads, viz. (i) Long Composition (दीर्घवर्णन) (ii) Short quotations (लघु सुभाषित).

1. *Long Compositions*

In *Padmapurāṇa* there are three long compositions borrowed from Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* i.e. (a) description of Janapada (जनपद) or Viṣaya, (b) description of city (नगर) and (c) description of king. Now we have to illustrate the original texts from *'Harṣacarita' and 'Padmapurāṇa.'*

(a) In *Harṣa-carita* Bāṇa writes while describing Śrikaṇṭha-janapada (श्रीकण्ठजनपद):

"अस्ति पुण्यकृतामधिवासो वासवावास इव वसुधामवतीर्णः, सततमसंकीर्ण-वर्णव्यवहारस्थितिः कृतयुगव्यवस्थः, स्थलकमलवनबहुलतया पोत्रोन्मूल्यमानमृणाल-वलयैः उन्मीलन्मेदिनीसारगुणैरिव कृतमधुकरकोलाहलैः हलैरुल्लिख्यमानक्षेत्रः, क्षीरोदपयःपायिपयोदसिक्ताभिरिव पुण्ड्रेक्षुवाटसन्ततिभिर्निरन्तरः, प्रतिदिशमपूर्व-पर्वतकैरिव खलधानधामभिः विभज्यमानैः सस्यकूटैः सङ्कटसीमान्तः, समन्तादुद्घाटित-घटीयन्त्रसिच्यमानैः जीरकजूटकैः जटिलितभूमिः, उर्वरावरीयोभिः शालेयैरलंकृतः, पाकविशरारुराजमाषनिकरकर्बुरैः स्फुटितमुद्गकोशीकपिशितैः परिणतगोधूमधामभिः

4. Collected in *Subhāṣita Ratna Bhāṇḍāgāra*, 39/12, Edition 1929. N. S. Press, Bombay.

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स्थलीपृष्ठैरधिष्ठितः, महिषपृष्ठप्रतिष्ठितगायद्गोपालपालितैः कीटलम्पटबलाकानुसृतैः अवटुघटितघण्टाघटीरणितरमणीयैः अटद्भिरटवीं हरवृषभपीतमामयाशङ्कया बहुधा विभक्तं क्षीरोदमिव क्षीरं क्षरद्भिर्बाष्पच्छेद्यतृणतृप्तैर्गोधनैः धवलितविपिनः, विविधमखहोमधूमान्धशतमन्युमुक्तैः लोचनैरिव सहस्रसंख्यः कृष्णसारैः शारीकृतोद्देशः, धवलधूलिमुचां च केतकीवनानां रजोभिः पाण्डरीकृतैः प्रमथोद्धूलनभस्मधूसरैः शिवपुरस्येव प्रदेशैरुपशोभितः, श्यामाककन्दलश्यामलितग्रामोपकण्ठकाश्यपीपृष्ठः, पदे-पदे करभपालकैः पीलुपल्लवप्रस्फोटितैः करपुटपीडितकोमलमातुलुङ्गीदलरसोपलिप्तैः स्वेच्छाविरचितकुंकुमकेसरकृतपुष्पप्रकरैः प्रत्यग्रफलरसपानसुखप्रसुप्तपथिकैः वनदेवतादीयमानामृतरसप्रपागृहैरिव द्राक्षालतामण्डपैः स्फुटत्फलानां च बीजलग्नशुकचञ्चुरागाणामिव समारूढकपिकुलकपोलसन्दिह्यमानकुसुमानां दाडिमीनां वनैः विलोभनीयोपनिर्गमः, उपवनपालपीयमाननालिकेररसासवैश्च, पथिकलोकलुप्यमानपिण्डखर्जूरैः गोलाङ्गूललिह्यमानमधुरमोचापिण्डीरसैः चकोरचञ्चुजर्जरितैलावनैरुपवनैरभिरामः, तुङ्गार्जुनपाटलीपालीपरिवृतैश्च गोकुलावतारकलुषितकूलकीलालैरध्वगशतशरण्यैररण्यजलाधारबन्धैरवन्ध्यवनरन्ध्रः, कलहायमानकरभीयकुमारककाल्यमानैः औष्ट्रकैः औरभ्रकैश्च कृतसम्बाधः, दिशि दिशि रविरथतुरगविलोकनायेव विलुठनमृदितकुङ्कुमस्थलीरससमालब्धानाम् उत्प्रोथपुटैः मुखैरुदरशायिकिशोरकजवजननाय प्रभञ्जनमापिबन्तीनामिव स्वच्छन्दचारिणीनां बडवानां वृन्दैर्विहरद्भिराचितः, अनवरतक्रतुधूमान्धकारत्रस्तैर्हंसयूथैर्गुणैरिव धवलितभूतलः संगीताहतमुरजरवमत्तैर्मयूरैरिव विभवमुखरितजीवलोकः, शशिकरावदातवृत्तैर्मुक्ताफलैरिव गुणिभिः प्रसाधितः, पथिकशतविलुप्यमानस्फीतफलैर्महातरुभिरिव सर्वथातिथिभिर्गमनीयः, मृगमदपरिमलवाहिभिर्मृगरोमावच्छादितैर्हिमवत्पार्श्वैरिव महत्तरैः स्थिरीकृतः, प्रोद्दण्डशतपत्रोपविष्टद्विजोत्तमैः नारायणनाभिमण्डलैरिव तोयाशयैर्मण्डितः, मथितपयःप्रवाहप्रक्षालितक्षितिभिः मन्थनारम्भैरिव महाघोषैःपूरिताशः श्रीकण्ठो नाम जनपदः।

यत्र त्रेताग्निधूमाश्रुजलप्रक्षालिता इवाक्षीयन्त कुदृष्टयः। पच्यमानचयनेष्टकादहनदग्धानीव नादृश्यन्त दुरितानि।"[5]

Generally the same ideas are given by Raviṣeṇa while he describes 'Magadha Viṣaya' (मगधविषय) in the following words:

"अथ जम्बूमति द्वीपे क्षेत्रे भरतनामनि।
मगधाभिख्यया ख्यातो विषयोऽस्ति समुज्ज्वलः॥

निवासः पूर्णपुण्यानां वासवावाससन्निभः।
व्यवहारैरसंकीर्णैः कृतलोकव्यवस्थितिः॥

5. *Harṣa-caritam*: Kerala University Anantaśayanam Granthamālā Granthanka, 187, Ed. Shakabda 1880, pp. 3, 137–141.

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क्षेत्राणि दधते यस्मिन्नुत्खातान् लाङ्गलाननैः।
स्थलाब्जमूलसंघातान् महीसारगुणानिव ॥

क्षोरसेकादिवोद्भूतैर्मन्दानिलचलद्दलैः।
पुण्ड्रेक्षुवाटसन्तानैर्व्याप्तानन्तरभूतलः ॥

अपूर्वपर्वताकारैर्विभक्तः खलधामभिः।
सस्यकूटैः सुविन्यस्तैः सीमान्ता यस्य सङ्कटाः ॥

उद्घाटकघटीसिक्तैर्यत्र जीरकजूटकैः।
नितान्तहरितैरुर्वी जटालेव विराजते ॥

उर्वरायां वरीयोभिः यः शालेयैरलंकृतः।
मुद्गकोशीपुटैर्यस्मिन्नुद्देशान् कपिलत्विषा ॥

तापस्फुटितकोशीकै राजमाषैर्निरन्तराः ॥
उद्देशा यत्र किर्मीरा निक्षेत्रियतृणोद्गमाः ॥

अधिष्ठिते स्थलीपृष्ठे श्रेष्ठगोधूमधामभिः।
प्रशस्यैरन्यशस्यैश्च युक्तः प्रत्यूहवर्जितैः ॥

महामहिषपृष्ठस्थगायद्गोपालपालितैः।
कीटातिलम्पटोद्ग्रीवबलाकानुगताध्वभिः ॥

विवर्णसूत्रसम्बद्धघण्टारटितहारिभिः।
क्षरद्भिरजरत्रासात् पीतक्षीरोदवत्पयः ॥

सुस्वादरससम्पन्नैर्बाष्पच्छेद्यैरनन्तरैः।
तृणैस्तृप्ति परिप्राप्तैर्गोधनैः सितकक्षपूः ॥

सारीकृतसमुद्देशः कृष्णसारैर्विसारिभिः।
सहस्रसंख्यैर्गीर्वाणस्वामिनो लोचनैरिव ॥

केतकीधूलिधवला यस्य देशाः समुन्नताः।
गङ्गापुलिनसङ्काशा विभान्ति जिनसेविताः ॥

शाककन्दलवाटेन श्यामलश्रीधरः क्वचित्।
वनपालकृतास्वादैर्नालिकेरैर्विराजितः ॥

कोटिभिः शुकचञ्चूनां तथा शाखामृगाननैः।
सन्दिग्धकुसुमैर्युक्तः पृथुभिर्दाडिमीवनैः ॥

वन (वत्स)-पालीकराघृष्टमातुलिङ्गीफलाम्भसा।
लिप्ताः कुङ्कुमपुष्पाणां प्रकरैरुपशोभिताः ॥

फलस्वादपयःपानसुखसंसुप्तमार्गगाः।
वनदेवीप्रपाकारा द्राक्षाणां यत्र मण्डपाः ॥

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विलुप्यमानैः पथिकैः पिण्डखर्जूरपादपैः।
कर्मिभिश्च कृताचोटैर्मोचानां निचितः फलैः॥

तुङ्गार्जुनवनाकीर्णतटदेशैर्महोदरैः।
गोकुलाकलितोदारस्वरवत्कूलधारिभिः॥

विस्फुरच्छफरीनालैर्विकसल्लोचनैरिव।
हसद्भिरिव शुक्लानां पंकजानां कदम्बकैः॥

तुङ्गैस्तरङ्गसंघातैर्नर्तनप्रसृतैरिव।
गायद्भिरिव संसक्तहंसानां मधुरस्वनैः॥

सामोदजनसंघातैः समासेवितसत्तटैः।
सरोभिस्सारसाकीर्णैर्वनरन्ध्रेषु भूषितः॥

संक्रीडनैर्वपुष्मद्भिराविकोष्ट्रकतार्णकैः॥
कृतसंबाधसर्वाशो हितपालकपालितैः॥

दिवाकररथाश्वानां लोभनार्थमिवोचितैः।
पृष्ठैः कुङ्कुमपङ्केन चलत्प्रोथपुटैर्मुखैः॥

उदरस्थकिशोराणां जवायेव प्रभञ्जनम्।
स्वच्छन्दमापिबन्तीनां बडवानां गणैश्चितः॥

चरद्भिर्हंससंघातैर्घनैर्जनगुणैरिव।
रवेणाकृष्टचेतोभिरत्यन्तधवलः क्वचित्॥

संगीतस्वनसंयुक्तैर्मयूररवमिश्रितैः।
यस्मिन्मुरजनिर्घोषैर्मुखरं गगनं सदा॥

शरन्निशाकरश्वेतवृत्तैर्मुक्ताफलोपमैः।
आनन्द.नचतुरैर्गुणवद्भिः प्रसाधितः॥

तर्पिताध्वगसंघातैः फलैर्वरतरूपमैः।
महाकुटुम्बिभिर्नित्यं प्राप्तोऽभिगमनीयताम्॥

सारङ्गमृगसद्गन्धमृगरोमभिरावृतैः।
हिमवत्पाददेशीयैः कृतस्थैर्यो महत्तरैः॥

हताः कुदृष्टयो यस्मिन् जिनप्रवचनाञ्जनैः।
पापकक्षं च निर्दग्धं महामुनितपोऽग्निभिः॥"[6]

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6. *Padmapurāṇa*, Vol. 1, २/1–32, (Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevi Granthamālā Sanskrit Grantha No. 20; Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, Kāshī; Ed. July 1958).

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The two descriptions resemble very much. The only difference is that Bāṇa has written in prose while Raviṣeṇa has written in verse. That is why in the description of Magadha at places synonymns have been used and at places the sequence has been altered. For example, *"satatamasañkīrṇavarṇavyavahārasthitiḥ kṛtayugavyavasthaḥ"* has been converted to *"vyavahārairasañkīrṇaiḥ kṛtalokavyavasthitiḥ."* Sometimes long compounds are reproduced in pieces due to metre-considerations such as, *"sthalakamalavanabahulatayā potronmūlyamānamṛṇālavalayairunmīlanmedinīsāraguṇairiva kṛtamadhukarakulakolāhalaiḥ halairullikhyamānakṣetraḥ"* has been put as:

"Kṣetrāṇi dadhate yasminnutkhātān lāñgalānanaiḥ.
Sthalābjamūlasañghātān mahisāraguṇāniva."

Further, whereas the utprekṣās of Bāṇa follow the Brahmin or Vedic cult Raviṣeṇa has either presented them in the Jain garb or omitted them. For example, *"Yatra tretāgnidhūmāśrujalaprakṣālitā ivākṣīyanta kudṛṣṭḥ"* has been transformed into the Jain-pattern as:

"Hatāḥ kudṛṣṭayo yasmin Jinapravacanāñjanaiḥ."

In the conversion of *"Dhavaladhūlimucām ca ketakīvanānām rajobhiḥ pāṇḍarīkṛtaiḥ Pramathoddhūlanabhasmadhūsaraiḥ Śivapuraśyeva pradeśairupaśobhitaḥ"* into

"Ketakidhūlidhavalā yasya deśāḥ samunnatāḥ.
Gañgāpulinaṣañkāśā vibhānti Jinasevitāḥ,"

being opposed to yajña Raviṣeṇa has left out this utprekṣā: *"Bhidyamānayūpadāruparaṣupātitā iva vyaṣīryanta ivādharmāḥ"* etc. [? Ed.] The rest is merely a reproduction of Bāṇa's original text. In the mad zeal of reproduction Raviṣeṇa overlooked whether in the Magadha territory *'Jīrakajūṭaka'*, *'Rajamāṣa'*, *'Dāḍmīvana'*, *'Drākṣāmaṇḍapa'*, *'Piṇḍakharjūra'* etc. grow or not. But, to top it all is the surpris-

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ing omission of any reference to the betel-leaf which was the main produce of the Magadh area!

(b) *Description of city* (नगर): In *Harṣacarita* Bāṇa depicts Sthāṇvīśvara-nagara as follows:—

"तत्र चैवंविधे नानारामाभिरामकुसुमगन्धपरिमलसुभगो यौवनारम्भ इव भुवनस्य, कुङ्कुमकुड्मलमिलनपिञ्जरितबहुमहिषीसहस्रशोभितोऽन्तःपुरनिवेश इव धर्मस्य, मरुद्धूयमानचमरीबालव्यजनशतशबलितप्रान्तः एकदेश इव सुरराजस्य, ज्वलन्मखशिखिसहस्रदीप्यमानदशदिगन्तः शिविरसन्निवेश इव कृतयुगस्य, पद्मासनावस्थितब्रह्मर्षिध्यानाधीयमानसकलाकुशलप्रशमोऽवतार इव ब्रह्मलोकस्य, कलकलमुखरमहावाहिनीशतसङ्कुलो विक्षेप इव उत्तरकुरूणाम्, ईश्वरमार्गणसन्तापानभिज्ञसकलजनो विजिगीषुरिव त्रिपुरस्य, सुधारससिक्तधवलगृहपंक्तिपाण्डरः प्रतिनिधिरिव चन्द्रलोकस्य मधुमदमत्तकाशिनीभूषणरवभरितभुवनो नामापहार इव कुबेरस्य स्थाण्वीश्वराख्यो जनसन्निवेशः ।

यश्च यौवनमिति युवतिभिः, तपोवनमिति मुनिभिः, कामायतनमिति वेश्याभिः, संगीतशालमिति लासकैः, यमनगरमिति शत्रुभिः, चिन्तामणिभूमिरित्यर्थिभिः, वीरक्षेत्रमिति शस्त्रोपजीविभिः, गुरुकुलमिति विद्यार्थिभिः, गन्धर्वनगरमिति गायनैः, विश्वकर्ममन्दिरमिति विज्ञानिभिः, लाभभूमिरिति वैदेहकैः, धूर्तस्थानमिति बन्दिभिः, साधुसमागम इति सद्भिः, वज्रपञ्जरमिति शरणागतैः, विटगोष्ठीति विदग्धैः, सुकृतपरिणाम इति पथिकैः,असुरविवरमिति वादिकैः, शाक्याश्रम इति शमिभिः, अप्सरःपुरमिति कामिभिः, महोत्सवसमाज इति चारणैः, वसुधारेति च विप्रैरगृह्यत ।

यत्र च मातङ्गगामिन्यः शीलवत्यश्च, गौर्यो विभवरताश्च, श्यामाः पद्मरागिण्यश्च धवलशुचिवदना मदिरामोदश्वसनाश्च, चन्द्रकान्तवपुषः शिरीषकोमलाङ्ग्यश्च अभुजङ्गगम्याः कञ्चुकिन्यश्च, पृथुकलत्रश्रियो दरिद्रमध्यकलिताश्च, लावण्यवत्यो मधुरभाषिण्यश्च, अप्रमत्ताः प्रसन्नोज्ज्वलरागाश्च, अकौतुकाः प्रौढाश्च प्रमदाः ।"[7]

Raviṣeṇa describes Rajgṛha city in the same terms:

"तत्रास्ति सर्वतः कान्तं नाम्ना राजगृहं पुरम् ।
कुसुमामोदसुभगं भुवनस्येव भूषणम् ॥
महिषीणां सहस्रैर्यत्कुङ्कुमाञ्चितविग्रहैः ।
धर्मान्तःपुरनिर्भासं धत्ते मानसकर्षणम् ॥
मरुदुद्धूतचमरैर्बालव्यजनशोभितैः ।
प्रान्तैरमरराजस्य च्छायां यदवलम्बते ॥

7. *Harṣacarita*, 3/142–145.

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सन्तापमपरिप्राप्तैः कृतमीश्वरमार्गणैः ।
मनुजैर्यत्करोतीव त्रिपुरस्य जिगीषुताम् ।।

सुधारससमासङ्गपाण्डुरागारपङ्क्तिभिः ।
टङ्ककल्पितशीतांशुशीलाभिरिव कल्पितम् ।।

मदिरामत्तवनिताभूषणस्वनसंभृतम् ।
कुबेरनगरस्येव द्वितीयं सन्निवेशनम् ।।

तपोवनं मुनिश्रेष्ठैर्वेश्याभिः काममन्दिरम् ।
लासकैर्नृत्तभवनं शत्रुभिर्यमपत्तनम् ।।

शस्त्रिभिर्वीरनिलयोऽभिलाषमणिरर्थिभिः ।
विद्यार्थिभिर्गुरोः सद्म बन्दिभिर्धूर्तपत्तनम् ।

गन्धर्वनगरं गीतशास्त्रकौशलकोविदैः ।
विज्ञानग्रहणोद्युक्तैर्मन्दिरं विश्वकर्म्मणः ।।

साधूनां सङ्गमः सद्भिर्भूमिर्लाभस्य वाणिजैः ।
पञ्जरं शरणप्राप्तैर्वज्रदारुविनिर्मितम् ।।

वार्तिकैरसुरच्छिद्रं विदग्धैर्विटमण्डली ।
परिणामो मनोज्ञस्य कर्मणो मार्गवर्त्तिभिः ।।

चारणैरुत्सवावासः कामुकैरप्सरःपुरम् ।
सिद्धलोकश्च विदितं यत्सदा सुखिभिर्जनैः ।।

यत्र मातङ्गगामिन्यः शीलवत्यश्च योषितः ।
श्यामाश्च पद्मरागिण्यो गौर्यश्च विभवाश्रयाः ।।

चन्द्रकान्तशरीराश्च शिरीषसुकुमारिकाः ।
भुजङ्गानामगम्याश्च कञ्चुकावृतविग्रहाः ।।

महालावण्ययुक्ताश्च मधुराभाषतत्पराः ।
प्रसन्नोज्ज्वलवक्त्राश्च प्रमादरहितेहिताः ।।

कलत्रस्य पृथोर्लक्ष्मीं दधतेऽथ च दुर्विधाः ।
मनोज्ञा नितरां मध्ये सुवृत्ताश्चायतिं गताः ।।

लोकान्तपर्वताकारं यत्र प्राकारमण्डलम् ।
समुद्रोदरनिर्भासपरिखाकृतवेष्टनम् ।।"[8]

Here also Bāṇa is blindly copied except for a few minor departures based on metre-considerations. Considering yajña-dīkṣā a "*pātaka*" (sin) Raviṣeṇa has left out "*Jvalanma-*

8. *Padmapurāṇa*, 2/33–49.

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khaśikhidīpyamāṇadaśadigantaḥ" etc. but has not been able to save himself totally from the impact of Brahaminical utprekṣās. He writes *"Īśvaramāgaṇaiḥ", "Tripurasyeva"*, *"Gauryaśca Vibhavāśrayāḥ"* etc. In the blind enthusiasm of reproduction he has forgotten whether *"Īśvara"* (Śiva), *"Tripura", "Gaurī"* and *"Bhava* (Vibhava)" etc. are recognised in Jain mythology or not.

(c) *Description of King*: Now we take the third example. In *Harṣacarita* Bāṇa describes King Harṣa and Puṣpabhūti as follows:—

"तत्र च साक्षात्सहस्राक्ष इव सर्ववर्णधरं धनुर्दधानः, मेरुमय इव कल्याणप्रकृतित्वे, मन्दरमय इव लक्ष्मीसमाकर्षणे, जलनिधिमय इवा मर्यादायाम्, आकाशमय इव शब्दप्रादुर्भावे, शशिमय इव कलासंग्रहे, वेदमय इवाकृत्रिमालापे, धरणिमय इव लोकधृतिकरणे, पवनमय इव सकलपार्थिवरजोविकारापहरणे, गुरुर्वचसि, पृथुरुरसि, विशालो मनसि, जनकस्तपसि, सुमित्रस्तेजसि, सुमन्त्रो रहसि, बुधः सदसि, अर्जुनो यशसि, भीष्मो धनुषि, निषधो वपुषि, शत्रुघ्नः समरे, शूरः शूरसेनाक्रमणे, दक्षः प्रजाकर्मणि, सर्वादिराजतेजः-पुञ्जनिर्मित इव राजा **पुष्पभूतिरिति** नाम्ना बभूव।"[9]

"नास्य (हर्षदेवस्य) हरेरिव वृषविरोधीनि बालचरितानि, पशुपतेरिव दक्षजनोद्वेगकारीणि ऐश्वर्यविलसितानि, न शतक्रतोरिव गोत्रविनाशपिशुनाः प्रवादाः, न यमस्येवातिवल्लभानि दण्डग्रहणानि, न वरुणस्येव निस्त्रिंशग्राससहस्ररक्षिता रत्नालयाः, न धनदस्येवातिनिष्फलाः सन्निधिलाभा,: न जिनस्येवार्थशून्यानि विज्ञानदर्शनानि, न चन्द्रमस इव बहुलदोषापहताः श्रियः।।"[10]

'अपि च, अस्य (हर्षदेवस्य) त्यागस्यार्थिनः, प्रज्ञायाः शास्त्राणि, कवित्वस्य वाचः, सत्वस्य साहसस्थानानि, उत्साहस्य व्यापाराः, कीर्तेर्दिङ्मुखानि, अनुरागस्य लोकद्वयानि, गुणगणस्य संख्या, कौशलस्य कला न पर्याप्तो विषयः।"[11]

Generally adopting the same pattern Raviṣeṇa describes Rājā Shreṇika as follows:

"आसीत्तत्र पुरे राजा श्रेणिको नाम विश्रुतः।
देवेन्द्र इव बिभ्राणः सर्ववर्णधरं धनुः।।

9. *Harṣa-carita*, 3rd उच्छ्वास pp. 146-47.
10. *Ibid.*, 2nd उच्छ्वास. pp. 112-113.
11. *Harṣa-carita*, 2nd उच्छ्वास pp. 113.

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कल्याणप्रकृतित्वेन यश्च पर्वतराजवत् ।
समुद्र इव मर्यादालंघनत्रस्तचेतसा ।।

कलानां ग्रहणे चन्द्रो लोकधृत्या धरामयः ।
दिवाकरः प्रतापेन कुबेरो धनसम्पदा ।।

× × ×

वृषाघातीनि नो यस्य चरितानि हरेरिव ।
नैश्वर्यचेष्टितं दक्षवर्गतापि पिनाकिवत् ।।

गोत्रनाशकरी चेष्टा नामराधिपतेरिव ।
नातिदण्डग्रहप्रीतिर्दक्षिणाशाविभोरिव ।।

वरुणस्येव न द्रव्यं निस्त्रिंशग्राहरक्षितम् ।
निःफला सन्निधिप्राप्तिर्नोत्तराशापतेरिव ।।

बुद्धस्यव न निर्मुक्तमर्थवादेन दूषणम् ।
न श्रीर्वहुलदोषोपघातिनी शीतगोरिव ।।

त्यागस्य नार्थिनो यस्य पर्याप्ति समुपागताः ।
प्रज्ञायाश्च न शास्त्राणि कवित्वस्य न भारती ।।

साहसानि महिम्नो न नोत्साहस्य च चेष्टितम् ।
दिगाननानि नो कीर्तेर्न संख्या गुणसम्पदः ।।

चित्तानि नानुरागस्य जनस्याखिलभूतले ।
कला न कुशलत्वस्य न प्रतापस्य शत्रवः ।।"[12]

Here also Raviṣeṇa is not able to omit the mythological stories of Hari's *'Vṛṣāghāta'* and Pinākī's *'Dakṣavargatāpa'*. These stories are extant in Hindu mythology, not in Jain mythology. These stories in *Padmapurāṇa* are a result of the tendency of blind reproduction.

2. *Short Quotations*

Not only in long compositions but Raviṣeṇa has borrowed maxims and epigrams too from Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣa-carita*. A few examples are produced in support of the aforesaid statement.

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12. *Padmapurāṇa*, 2/50–67.

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(1) In *Harṣa-carita,* while describing the metting of Dadhīca and Saraswatī, Bāṇa writes *"Āgatya ca...haṁsa-gadgadayā girā kṛtasambhāṣaṇo yathā Manmatha ājñāpayati; yathā yauvanamupadiśati, yathā vidagdhatādhyāpayati, yathā-nurāgaḥ śikṣayati, tathabhirāmām rāmāmaramayat"*[13] which has inspired Raviṣeṇa to adopt it in a versified form like

"Yathā bravīti vaidagdhyam yathājñāpayati Smaraḥ.
Ānurāgo yathā śikṣām prayacchati mahodayaḥ.
Tathā tayō ratiḥ prāptā dampatyorvṛddhimuttamam."[14]

(2) In *Harṣa-carita* Bāṇa, being influenced by Baudhha philosophy, while presenting the consolatory *Upadeśa* of Ācārya to Rājyaśrī writes: *"Āyuṣmati, śoko hi nāma paryāyaḥ piśācasya, rūpāntaramākṣepasya, tāruṇyam tamasaḥ, viśeṣo viṣasya, anantakaḥ pretanagaranāyakaḥ......Sarvamakṣiṇī nimīlya soḍhavyam...Puṇyavati, purātanyaḥ pravṛttayaḥ etāḥ kena śakyante anyathākartum?"*[15] which is given in *Padmapurāṇa* also in a versified form while Sukeśa and other relatives of Kiṣkindha console him as follows:

"Śoko hi paṇḍitairdṛṣṭaḥ piśāco bhinnanāmakaḥ.
... ...
Śokaḥ pratyuta dehasya śoṣikaraṇamuttamam.
Pāpānāmayamudreko mahāmohapraveśanaḥ." etc.[16]

Now we have to take into account the reasons of this plagiarism. The first reason is the popularity of Bāṇa. His descriptions are so attractive and impressive that Raviṣeṇa could not check himself from their incorporation in his work.

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13. *Harṣha-carita,* 1st Uchchwāsa, pp. 55. Ed. etc. as quoted before.

14. *Pādmapurāṇa,* 16/192-93.

115. *Harṣa-carita,* 7th Ucchwās, pp. 402–407. Ed. etc. as quoted before.

16. *Padmapurāṇa,* 6/480, 484.

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Bāṇa's descriptions and ornamentation were so powerful and popular that they occupied the foremost place in his time.

The second reason of this plagiarism is the intention of Raviṣeṇa to earn name simultaneously in the Jain world. Perhaps, he wanted to present a unique work equally possessed of literary and religious importance and attract readers' literary taste which would impel them for repeated readings and thus create in the ma leaning towards Jaina ideology itself—the body thus attracting the soul. This is why when he borrows the phraseology of Bāṇa he does want to leave not a single poetic fancy even if it goes against his philosophy and ideology. He does not want to set aside the charm of pun which is hidden in the above quoted poetic fancies (utprekṣās). He accepts the Parisaṅkhyās, Utprekṣās and Śleṣas verbatim. He is not afraid of any clash between his ideology and that of the original poet—Bāṇa.

F. 14,

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VIDYĀPATI'S GORAKṢAVIJAYA—A SOCIO-POLITICAL STUDY

By SHANKAR KUMAR JHA*

Gorakṣa-Vijaya is one of the less known works of Vidyāpati. It is a drama. Thanks are due to MM. Umesh Mishra and Dr. Jayakanta Mishra for getting a photostat copy of the manuscript which was lying in the Nepal Durbar Library for years and to edit it with a brief but informative Introduction. The editors have also given the facsimile plates of the original which help in deciphering the text. The editors got this rare play of Vidyāpati published as the last of the series of works of the *All India Maithilī-Sāhitya-Samiti-Granthmālā* in the year 1961 from Allahabad, the text being published at the Hindusthan Press and the Introduction at the Dominion Press. The MS, according to the editors, is dated Agrahana Śukla Ekādaśī La. saṁ. 495 (=1614 A.D.). We have no information whether this manuscript is available elsewhere or whether it has been published from any other place. As such we have to depend exclusively on this.

Like Jyotirīśwara's play, this is a regular Maithilī play, on the pattern of Sanskrit plays, where Sanskrit and Prākrit speeches and directions are given together with Maithilī songs. The subject-matter of the play is the famous story of Matsyendranātha (the preceptor of Yogī Gorakṣanātha) who was brought back to the path of Yoga by his disciple Gorakṣanātha and his friend Kannipāda. It thus forms in the Mithila tradition a part of the extensive literature of the Nātha cult. We know

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on the authority of Shri D. C. Sen[1] that the Nāth cult which originated with Mīnanātha and Gorakṣanātha had already an extensive literature in Bengal in the 13th century. Mr. Sen also believes that Nāthism contributed largely to the vernacular literature in its primitive stages; and chief among these contributions are the Mayanamatī Songs available to us from the different parts of Bengal in manifold forms. These songs originated in eastern and northern Bengal and were spread by the propounders of the Nath cult over all parts of India.[2] But though the Mayanamatī Songs traverse by far a wider field, the most strikingly significant note, however, of the Nāth-cult is to be found in the *Gorakṣa-Vijaya* itself. Though Mr. D. C. Sen considers *Gorakṣa-Vijaya* "a work written in Bengālī,"[3] we do not find any cogent proof to support this contention. The theme of the *Gorakṣa-Vijaya* as found in Vidyāpati's Maithilī version and the *"Meena-Chetna"* which the *Gorakṣa-Vijaya* in the Bengālī tradition is sometimes called are identical stories, yet the structure of the vernacular drama and the "balancing of the complication and solution" in the Maithilī *Gorakṣa-Vijaya* clearly show that it is altogether a different work. All that we can reasonably infer is that the popularity of the Bengālī *Gorakṣa-Vijaya* might have inspired Vidyāpati to write an original form of *"Nāṭaka"* with the same traditional theme of how Gorakhanāth redeemed his Guru Mīnanātha from the great spiritual degradation. In the Maithilī tradition Mīnanātha and Matsyendranātha are identical figures.[4] It is quite possible that Vidyāpati's receptive mind might have been inspired by the elevated and calm tone of Bengālī

1. *Chaitanya and His Age*, p. 2.
2. *Ibid*, p. 3.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
4. Introduction to the *Gorakṣa-Vijaya* in English by MM. Umesha Mishra and Dr. Jayakanta Mishra, p. 2.

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Gorakṣa-Vijaya and would have prompted the versatile genius to incorporate the Mithilā tradition of Gorakṣanātha in the same lyrical notes within the framework of a regular play.

For us this work is important for the sociological and political deductions and inferences which it directly and indirectly provides. What stirs our mind is the natural question as to why a *Smārta* traditionalist like Vidyāpati chose the subject of Gorakṣanātha whose date is sometimes placed in the 10th century A.D. or in the 11th century, or even in the 12th century or sometimes in the 13th.[5] To me the explanation lies in the fact that Gorakṣanātha was selected by Vidyāpati because Gorakṣanātha had turned a Śaiva from the Buddhist fold and thus endeared himself to the various sections of Mithila which were sick of the Buddhist creed and of its own rigorous code of discipline. It is a historically accepted fact that the roots of the Nāth Cult of Gorakṣnātha go to the Vrajayana sect of Buddhism.[6] Relying on the authority of the well known Tibetan Tārānāth, MM. Har Prasad Shastri came to the conclusion that Gorakṣanātha was at first a Buddhist and then later on he became a Śaiva.[7] That is why the Lamas of Tibet contemptuously look at Gorakṣanātha. This change of creed impressed the Hindu mind and the bulk of the Maithilas which had never accepted the Buddhist faith opened its arms in rapturous delight to sing glories of Gorakhnātha. This play also evidently sings glories to the Yogic feats of Gorakṣanātha

5. Rahul Sankrityāyan on the basis of *Ratnakar Jopam Katha* a book of Brajjain Suddhis places it in the 10th Century. Preface of गोरखबानी by डा० पीताम्बरदत्त बड़थवाल p. 20. हिन्दी साहित्य की भूमिका by डा० हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी p. 61. हिन्दी साहित्य का इतिहास p. 15 by Pt. Ramchandra Shukla.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

7. हिन्दी साहित्य की भूमिका by डा० हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी p. 61

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who in the *Mahārāṣṭra tradition* was third in the line of the Nāthas—the first Nātha being the Lord Śiva himself, who is called the Ādinātha, second was Matsyendranātha and the third was Gorakṣanātha. Śaivism was by far the most popular cult in Mithilā and through this play Vidyāpati tried to strengthen the Śaiva cult which was the most progressive cult and through which alone the lower castes could be liberated. Sri D. C. Sen also believes that Nāthism was a compromise between Śaivism and Buddhism.[8] The second reason could be that Vidyāpati who was himself one of the prophets of the unity of cults might have been inspired by the mysterious qualitits of Yoga which was propounded by Gorakṣanātha to attain the supreme bliss and for which he had received encomium from the Muslims also. The Muslims who did not like idol worship and the multiplicity of many Hindu Gods were impressed by the simple Yogic technique to reach the ultimate reality. Thus, the Yogic path propounded by Gorakṣanātha sought to provide one common path for the Hindus as well as Muslims.[9] Another possible explanation is that Vidyāpati who was a man of the masses though he lived his own life in the aristocratic circle of the rulers of Mithilā, tried to reach through Gorakṣanātha's glories the uneducated masses amongst whom Gorakṣanātha had become quite popular. We know on the authority of Mm. Gopinath Kaviraj and the late Sir Ganganath Jha that "the system of mystic culture introduced by Gorakhnātha does not seem to have spread widely through the educated classes."[10] By inference, it can be deduced that it had become quite popular with the uneducated masses. So it is not difficult to surmise that Vidyāpati would have

8. *Chaitanya and His Age* by Dr. S. C. Sen, p. 2.
9. हिन्दी साहित्य का इतिहास, by पं० रामचन्द्र शुक्ल p. 16.
10. *Saraswati Bhawan Studies* quoted in the हिन्दीसाहित्य का इतिहास p. 17.

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tried to reach the message of moral integrity, purity of conduct, chastity of behaviour etc. to the masses who desparately needed it in an age of loose public morals. In this play we find an asceticism of a high order based on an observance of moral virtues.

Incidentally, the play can be construed as a subtle satire against the kings and princes of feudal India who were engrosed in errotic pleasures forgetful of their high kingly duties and powers. It is a direct dig at the feudal practice of too many ladies at the service of one feudal male (*"Bahul Kāmini Ekala Kānt"*).[11] In Fol. 7 (Kha) of the text Vidyāpati has described in detail the amorous ways of the king. In bringing home the belated realisation in the heart of Matsyendranātha that he had lost so many powers, Vidyāpati indirectly wants to convey the reflection that in the feudal order many kings had lost sight of their real powers. Thus like the *Kīrtipatākā,* this work of Vidyāpati is also full of the description of the royal pleasures and shows how in this courtly atmosphere the kings had forgotten their real *Dharma* or duty. On Fol. 5 (Kha) of the text Vidyāpati has on the other hand, distinctly said that kings should not throw to the wind their Dharma. He enjoins upon the kings to increase their material wealth but not at the cost of their Dharma—*Dharma Rākhi Dhana Bhariaen Bhaṇḍā.*"[12] This fits in well with the ancient Indian political tradition where pursuit of Dharma or duty has been considered of paramount importance even for the kings. Dharma etymologically means *to hold.* It stands for that which upholds or holds together. The idea is to hold intact the specific

11. *Bahula Kāmini ekala Kanta*
Kṛṣṇapati āela sah yana tanta.
12. *Dharma rākhi dhana bharia bhaṇḍāra.*
Bhanai vidyāpati kavi kaṇṭhahāra.

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spiritual force on which one's efficacy as a member of a particular social species depends. "In so far as the individual is a functioning component of the complex social organism, his concern must be to become identified with the tasks and interests of his social role and even to shape to this his public and private character."[13] Vidyāpati, in short, enjoins upon the rulers the philosophy of Duty in a Dharma oriented polity.

13. *Philosophies of India* by Heinrich Zimmer, p. 151.

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A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF KINGSHIP AS REVEALED IN THE RAGHUVAMŚA

By RUDRAKANTA MISHRA*

I. INTRODUCTION

The idea of kingship in ancient India is likely to help us mould our present-day concept of government. We have often been told that this ideal kingship is found in the popular notion of *Rāmarājya*;[1] but in ancient literature it is not *Rāmarājya* that is mentioned as the ideal but the rule of the dynasty of *Raghu*[2]—including the rule of *Rāma* and many others.

I have, therefore, taken as the subject of my investigation the ideals that animated the illustrious *Raghuvaṁśin* kings as a whole and, that too, as expressed by Kalidasa, one of the greatest of Indian poets.

II. THE KING AS A MAN

As man is born into this world, he gradually finds himself surrounded by persons nearest to him. At that stage the parents feel it their duty to look after the mental.

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1. The expression has come to represent ideal government more on account of the image of *Rāmacandra* in the public mind.

2. क्व सूर्यप्रभवो वंशः क्व चाल्पविषया मतिः। (1.2), अथवा कृतवाग्द्वारे वंशेऽस्मिन्पूर्वसूरिभिः । (1.4), सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्ध नां · · · चापलाय प्रचोदितः। (1.5) to (1.9).

Note also that the epithets *Raghuvaṁśin*, *Rāghava* or their equivalents are commonly applied to all the kings of this dynasty anywhere and everywhere in Indian literature, and not to one of them alone. In fact, the king's popularity and activity were equally inspired by those of his predecessors.

F. 15

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physical and moral development of the child. In the same way, as his field of activity and needs grow larger, his liabilities rest not only towards his growing family and its members but also to the members of other families with whom he comes in contact. The elders deem it necessary to train him to establish different sorts of relations with each of them.

Respect for the common men, respect for the *guru*, respect for the parents, and respect for a sage or *jñānī* are altogether different and distinct in character. Similarly, the love for a child, the love for a servant, the love for a wife, and the love for a close friend are all of different grades. Yet, each of these duties of man manifests its position gradually as he grows in maturity. A man's character is judged by his behaviour to each of them. At the same time one has also to be conscious that the discharge of duties to one of these does not affect his relations with another.

It is important to emphasize here that, the *Raghuvaṁśin* was first and foremost an upright man and as such, his great respect for parents,[3] preceptor[4] and elders,[5] true love for

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3. वपुः प्रकर्षादजयद्गुरुं रघुस्तथापि नीचैर्विनयाददृश्यत । (3.34), पितरं प्रणिपत्य पादयोरपरित्यागमयाचतात्मनः । (8.12), पित्रा दत्तां रुदन्रामः प्राङ्‌ महीं प्रत्यपद्यत । पश्चाद्वनाय गच्छेति तदाज्ञां मुदितोऽग्रहीत् ॥ (12.7), सर्वासु मातृष्वपि वत्सलात्स निर्विशेषप्रतिपत्तिरासीत् (14.22), पात्रीकृतात्मा गुरुसेवनेन स्पष्टाकृतिः पत्ररथेन्द्रकेतोः । तं पुत्रिणां पुष्करपत्रनेत्रः पुत्रः समारोपयदग्रसंख्याम् ।

4. तयोर्जगृहतुः पादान् राजा राज्ञी च मागधी । तौ गुरुर्गुरुपत्नी च प्रीत्या प्रतिनन्दतुः ॥ (1.57), तथेति प्रतिजग्राह प्रीतिमान्सपरिग्रहः । आदेशं देशकालज्ञः शिष्यः शासितुरानतः ॥ (1.92), गुरोः सदारस्य निपीड्य पादौ । (2.23), गुरोरपीदं धनमाहिताग्नेर्नश्यत्पुरस्तादनुपेक्षणीयम् । (2.44), भक्त्या गुरौ । (2.63).

5 लंकेश्वरप्रणयभंगदृढव्रतं तद्वन्द्यं युगं चरणयोर्जनकात्मजायाः । ज्येष्टानुवृत्ति जटिलं च शिरोऽस्य साधोरन्योन्यपावनमभूदुभयं समेत्य ॥ (13.78), कृताञ्जलिस्तत्र यदम्ब सत्यान्नाभ्रश्यत स्वर्गफलाद्गुरुर्नः । तच्चिन्त्यमानं सुकृतं तवेति जहार लज्जां भरतस्य मातुः ॥ (14.6), स श्रुतवान्मातरि भार्गवेण पितुर्नियोगात्प्रहृतं द्विषद्वत् । प्रत्यग्रहीदग्रजशासनं तदाज्ञा गुरूणामविचारणीया ॥ (14.46)

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queens,[6] pure affection for brothers[7] and sons,[8] due regard for scholars,[9] mendicants[10] and other highly qualified people,

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6 तत्तद्भूमिपतिः पत्न्यै दर्शयन्प्रियदर्शनः। अपि लंघितमात्मानं बुबुधे न बुधोपमः ॥ (1.47), उपेत्य सा दोहददुःखशीलतां यदेव वव्रे तदपश्यदाहृतम्। (3.6), न मे ह्रिया शंसति किञ्चिदीप्सितं स्पृहावती वस्तुषु केषु मागधी। इति स्म पृच्छत्यनुवेलमादृतः प्रियासखीरुत्तरकोशलेश्वरः ॥ (3.5), प्रतियोजयितव्यवल्लकीसमवस्थामथ सत्त्वविप्लवात्। स निनाय नितान्तवत्सलः परिगृह्योचितमंकमंगनाम् ॥ (8.41) ननु शब्दपतिः क्षितेरहं त्वयि मे भावनिबन्धना रतिः। (8.52), प्राणान्तहेतुमपि तं भिषजामसाध्यं लाभं प्रियानुगमने त्वरया स मेने। (8.93), प्रत्यभिज्ञानरत्नं च रामायादर्शयत्कृती। हृदयं स्वयमायातं वैदेह्या इव मूर्तिमत् ॥ (12.64), सीतां हित्वा दशमुखरिपुर्नोपयेमे यदन्यां तदस्या एव प्रतिकृतिसखो यत्क्रतूनाजहार। वृत्ता तेन श्रवणविषयप्रापिणा तेन भर्तुः सा दुर्वारं कथमपि परित्यागदुःखं विषेहे। (14.87).

7. स विसृष्टस्तथेत्युक्त्वा भ्रात्रा नैवाविशत्पुरीम्। नन्दिग्रामगतस्तस्य राज्यं न्यासमिवाभुनक ॥ (12.18.), स भ्रातरं भरतमर्घ्यपरिग्रहान्ते। पर्यश्रुरस्वजत मूर्धनि चोपजिघ्रौ तद्भक्त्यपोढपितृराज्यमहाभिषेके ॥ (13.70), ज्येष्ठानुवृत्तिजटिलं च शिरोऽस्य साधोरन्योन्यपावनमभूदुभयं समेत्य। (13.78), बिडौजसा विष्णुरिवाग्रजेन भ्रात्रा यदित्थं परवानसि त्वम्। (14.59), समानेऽपि सौभ्रात्रे यथोभौ रामलक्ष्मणौ। तथा भरतशत्रुघ्नौ प्रीत्या द्वन्द्वं बभूवतुः ॥ (10.81), अथेतरे सप्त रघुप्रवीरा ज्येष्ठं पुरोजन्मतया गुणैश्च। चक्रुः कुशं रत्नविशेषभाजं सौभ्रात्रमेषां हि कुलानुसारि ॥ (16.1).

8. निवातपद्मस्तिमितेन चक्षुषा नृपस्य कान्तं पिबतः सुताननम्। महोदधेः पूरमिवेन्दुदर्शनाद्गुरुः प्रहर्षः प्रबभूव नात्मनि ॥ (3.17), कुमाराः.... आनन्देनाग्रजेनेव समं ववृधिरे पितुः। (10.78), तौ पितुर्नयनजेन वारिणा किंचिदुक्षितशिखण्डकावुभौ। (11.5), पुत्रस्तथैवात्मजवत्सलेन स तेन पित्रा पितृमान्बभूव। (18.11)

9. कुशावतीं श्रोत्रियसात्स कृत्वा। (16.25), विदुषां सत्कृतये बहु श्रुतम् वसु तस्य विभोः। (8.31), प्रतीप इत्यागमवृद्धसेवी। (6.41).

10. भवेदलुप्तश्च मुनेः क्रियार्थः। (2.55), भूयस्तपोव्ययो मा भूद्वाल्मीकेरिति सोऽत्यगात्।.... आश्रमम्। (15.37), दिग्भ्यो निमन्त्रिताश्चैनमभिजग्मुर्महर्षयः (15.59), उपेत्य मुनिवेषोऽथ कालः प्रोवाच राघवम्। रहःसंवादिनौ पश्येदावां यस्त्यजेरिति। (15.92), तमर्चयित्वा विधिवद्विधिज्ञस्तपोधनं मानधनाग्रयायी। विशाम्पतिर्विष्टरभाजमारात्कृताञ्जलिः कृत्यविदित्युवाच ॥ (5.3).

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and deep devotion towards divinity[11] are eminently suited to his manhood.

The *Raghuvaṁśin's* life is equally magnified due to his adherence to the code of righteous conduct suited to a human being of a particular status, as is enjoined by the *dharmaśāstra*.[12] He performed daily rites[13] and sacrifices,[14] kept the sacred fire burning,[15] offered oblations to sages, gods and the deceased ancestors,[16] and had faith in the sanctity of *tīrthas* and sacred waters.[17] He had the *dwijātīya saṁskāras* like the *cūḍākaraṇa* and the *upanayana* etc.[18] He necessarily passed his life through the four *āśramas* of *āryan*

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11. मान्यः स मे स्थावरजंगमानां सर्गस्थितिप्रत्यवहारहेतुः। (2.44), नमयति स्म स केवलमुन्नतं वनमुचे नमुचेररये शिरः। (9.22), आराध्य विश्वेश्वरमीश्वरेण तेन क्षितेन क्षितेर्विश्वसहो विजज्ञे। (18.24).

12. वृत्ते स्थितस्याधिपतेः प्रजानाम्। (5.33), नृपस्य वर्णाश्रमपालनं यत्स एव धर्मो मनुनाप्रणीतः। (14.67), प्रजानां विनयाधानाद्रक्षणाद्भरणादपि स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः। (1.24), सोऽभूदन्वर्थो राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनात्। (4.12), रात्रिन्दिवविभागेषु यदादिष्टं महीक्षिताम्। तत्सिषेवे नियोगेन स विकल्पपराङ्मुखः॥ (17.49).

13. अथ विधिमवसाय्य शास्त्रदृष्टं दिवसमुखोचितम्। (5.76), विधेः सायन्तनस्यान्ते। (1·56).

14. यथावद्विहिताध्वराय। (5.19), (1.6), (1.26), (1.68), (3.38), (4.25), (4.86), (5.16), (5.19), (6.23), (6.38), (6.46), (6.61), (6.76), (9.20), (9.21), (10.4), (13.61), (15.62), (16.35), (18.12).

15. विदधे विधिमस्य नैष्ठिकं यतिभिः सार्धमनग्निमग्निचित्। (8.25).

16. ऋषिदेवगणस्वधाभुजां श्रुतयागप्रसवैः स पार्थिवः। अनृणत्वमुपेयिवान्बभौ परिधेर्मुक्त इवोष्णदीधितिः। (8 30).

17. उपस्पृशन्स्पर्शनिवृत्तलौल्यस्त्रिपुष्करेषु त्रिदशत्वमाप। (18.31), तीर्थे तोयव्यतिकरभवे जन्हुकन्यसरय्वोर्देहत्यागादमरगणनालेख्यमासाद्य सद्यः। पूर्वाकाराधिकतररुचा संगतः कान्तयासौ लीलागारेष्वरमत पुनर्नन्दनाभ्यन्तरेषु। (8.95).

18. स वृत्तचूलः। (3.28), अथोपनीतम्। (3.29), यथाक्रमं पुंसवनादिकाः क्रियाः। (3.10).

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life.[19] There is no wonder, therefore, that the king's moral, cultural and religious development was of a high order. In this connection we might also recall Rama of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Without this understanding of his human ideals we shall not be able to appreciate his (almost 'sublime') moral and disciplinarian hold over the people.

III. DIVINITY, HONOUR AND INFLUENCE

The duty of an ideal king was very great in ancient India. He had to save the people from loss of life and property from malignant quarters and at the same time, to maintain strict discipline and to uphold moral values throughout his realm. No king could afford to deviate from this path. He looked after his subjects like a father towards his son or, a guardian towards his ward. Truly, it has been said that one like *Viṣṇu* (the god who is entrusted the *pālana* of the *jīvas*) alone could deserve the position of the king.[20]

On the other hand, it was the duty of the people too to hold him in high respect. The subjects regarded him as their greatest refuge. He assumed supreme authority over the subjects who very happily obeyed his commands. And so, ultimately the king was regarded as a divine being.[21]

In every object of the universe, organic or inorganic, the divine being is present. In organic bodies there is the *jīvātmā*. But there is difference throughout of the degree

19. शैशवेऽभ्यस्तविद्यानां यौवने विषयैषिणाम्। वार्द्धके मुनिवृत्तीनां योगेनान्ते तनुत्यजाम्। (1.8). Then, we find the various ceremonies and cultural acts connected with the life of a *Raghuvaṁśin* to have been in accordance with their age (for example, *brahmacarya* and *gārhasthya* etc.) and social status (i.e., that of a *kṣatriya*). This shows the prevalence of the regular laws of this nature (Cf. those of *manu*) at that time.

20. Cf. नाविष्णुः पृथिवीपतिः।

21. प्रत्यपद्यत चिराय यत्पुनश्चारु गौतमवधूः शिलामयी। स्वं वपुः स किल किल्विषच्छिदां रामपादरजसामनुग्रहः। (11.34), (15.100), भूपती वरुणवासवोपमौ। (11.53).

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in the manifestation of the divine power. In other words, the difference between *Rāma* or *Kṛiṣṇa* and an ordinary *jīva* is only that of degree. This must be kept in mind while interpreting the lines of Kalidasa throughout his work. Like many others, the poet Kalidasa extolls the king as though he were the very incarnation of *Viṣṇu*.[22] Thus it is said that his face was haloed,[23] that he could greatly influence both the destiny of man[24] and the laws of nature,[25] and that he resembled a sage.[26]

The *Raghuvaṁśin* was very proud of and therefore traced his origin from *Manu*[27] himself. Like a great Kṣatriya he was self-protected[28] and was possessed of invincible

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22. पुमानाद्य इवावतीर्णः। (18.15), (16.82), (18 25).

23. काऽप्यभिख्या तयोरासीद्व्रजतोः शुद्धवेषयोः। हिमनिर्मुक्तयोर्योगे चित्राचन्द्रमसोरिव। (1.46), अथ नयनसमुत्थं ज्योतिरत्रेरिव द्यौः सुरसरिदिव तेजो वह्निनिष्ठ्यूतमैशम्। (2.75), अरिष्टशय्यां परितो विसारिणा सुजन्मनस्तस्य निजेन तेजसा। निशीथदीपाः सहसा हतत्विषो बभूवुरालेख्यसमर्पिता इव (3.15), तमवाप्य सत्पतिं तमोनुदम्। (3.33), आरोप्य चक्रभ्रममुष्णतेजास्त्वाष्ट्रेव यन्त्रोल्लिखितो विभाति। (6.32), नराधिपः अनुययौ यमपुण्यजनेश्वरौ स वरुणावरुणाग्रसरं रुचा। (9.6).

24. न प्रहर्तुमलमस्मि निर्दयं विप्र इत्यभिभवत्यपि त्वयि।
शंस किं गतिमनेन पत्रिणा हन्मि लोकमुत ते मखार्जितम्॥ (11.84).

25. प्रभावस्तम्भितच्छायमाश्रितः स वनस्पतिम्। (12.20)

26. कुशलं पप्रच्छ राज्ये राज्याश्रममुनिं मुनिः (1.58), अनन्यसाधारणराजशब्दो बभूव योगी किल कार्तवीर्यः। (6.38), नीपान्वयः पार्थिव एष यज्वा गुणैर्यमाश्रित्य परस्परेण। सिद्धाश्रमं शान्तमिवैत्य सत्त्वैर्नैसर्गिकोऽप्युत्ससृजे विरोधः॥ (6.46).

27. अथ स्तुते बन्दिभिरन्वयज्ञैः सोमार्कवंश्ये नरदेवलोके। (6.8), पतंगान्वयभूषणस्य। (18.27), तदन्वये शुद्धिमति प्रसूतः शुद्धिमत्तरः दिलीपः राजेन्दुरिन्दुः क्षीरनिधाविव। (1.12), स्ववीर्यगुप्ता हि मनोः प्रसूतिः। (2.4).

28. न चान्यतस्तस्य शरीररक्षा स्ववीर्यगुप्ता हि मनोः प्रसूतिः। (2.4).

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strength.[29] His magestic lustre[30] and dignity[31] as well as force of character well became his royal status and demeneaour.

The glory of the king was also visible in his authority over the tributary kings. He was the King[32] of the kings, the *samrāṭ*. His unthinkable and immense dictatorial authority[33] subdued[34] and made all other kings[35] faithful. Even the gods accepted his supremacy.[36]

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29. नगरन्ध्रकरौजसः। (9.2), सर्वातिरिक्तसारेण सर्वतेजोऽभिभाविना। स्थितः सर्वोन्नतेनोर्वीं क्रान्त्वा मेरुरिवात्मना॥ (1.14).

30. ऊर्जितश्रियम्। (1.93), द्विजराजकान्तिः। (5.23), यस्यात्मगेहे नयनाभिरामा कान्तिर्हिमांशोरिव संनिविष्टा। (6.47), बभौ परिधेर्मुक्त इवोष्णदीधितिः। (8.30), उपगतोऽपि च मण्डलनाभितामनुदितान्यसितातपवारणः। श्रियमवेक्ष्य स रन्ध्रचलामभूदनलसोऽनलसोमद्युतिः। (9.15), अनलौजाः। (18.5), अग्निवर्णमभिषिच्य राघवः स्वे पदे तनयमग्नितेजसम् (19.1).

31. अनुभावविशेषात्तु सेनापरिवृताविव। (1.37), शमरतेऽमरतेजसि पार्थिवे। (9.4), तस्य पाकशासनतेजसः। (10.1).

32. जगदेकनाथः (5.23), एकनराधिपः। (5.16), कृत्स्नस्य नाभिर्नृपमण्डलस्य। (18.20).

33. हर्म्याग्रसंरूढतृणांकुरेषु तेजोऽविषह्यं रिपुमन्दिरेषु। (6.47), यावन्नाश्नायते वेदिरभिषेकजलाप्लुता। तावदेवान्तं वेलान्तं प्रतापः प्राप सुदःसहः। (17.37), तस्याननादुच्चरितो विवादश्चस्खाल वेलास्वपि नार्णवानाम्। (18.43).

34. संनमतामरीणाम् (18.34).

35. तं प्रमत्तमपि न शेकुराक्रमितुमन्यपार्थिवाः। (19.48), मौलैः सार्धं स्थविरसचिवैर्हेमसिंहासनस्था राज्ञी राज्यं विधिवदशिषद्भर्तुरव्याहताज्ञा। (19.57), दूरापवर्जितच्छत्रैस्तस्याज्ञां शासनार्पिताम्। दधुः शिरोभिर्भूपाला देवाः पौरन्दरीमिव॥ (17.79).

36. अचिन्तनीयस्तु तव प्रभावो मनीषितं द्यौरपि येन दुग्धा। (5.33), न कृपणा प्रभवत्यपि वासवे। (9.8), स कुलोचितमिन्द्रस्य सहायकमुपेयिवान् जघान समरे दैत्यं दुर्जयं तेन चावधि॥ (17.5).

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Indeed, he was adored[37] by the masses as their favourite hero. The king was given a warm welcome and entertained by the hermits,[38] whom he often visited and who in their turn frequented the king's palace to honour him.[39] The people felt great joy and entered into jubilation at the coronation ceremony of their king.[40] His subjects so loved him that when he had to leave them for a long journey their hearts overflowed with sorrow.[41] When he came after having subdued a mighty enemy, he was accorded a public reception.[42] It was customary for the people to offer presents to him in order to show their respect.[43] Even the demons (men famous for their malign designs against good-doers) and the monkeys (human inhabitants in dense forests)

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37. तमाहितौत्सुक्यमदर्शनेन प्रजाः प्रजार्थकर्शितांगम्। नेत्रैः पपुस्तृप्तिमनाप्नुवद्भिर्नवोदयं नाथमिवौषधीनाम्। (2.73), पौरदृष्टिकृतमार्गतोरणौ। (11.5), इत्थं जनितरागासु प्रकृतिष्वनुवासरम्। अक्षोभ्य स नवोऽप्यासीद्दृढमूल इव द्रुमः॥ (17.44).

38. तस्मै सभ्याः सभार्याय गोप्त्रे गुप्ततमेन्द्रियाः। अर्हणामर्हते चक्रुर्मुनयो नयचक्षुषे॥ (1.55), तमातिथ्यक्रियाशान्तरथक्षोभपरिश्रमम्। प्रपच्छ कुशलं ····· मुनिः॥ (1.58), एषोऽक्षमालावलयं मृगाणां कण्डूयितारं कुशसूचिलावम्। सभाजने मे भुजमूर्ध्वबाहुः सव्येतरं प्रध्वमितः प्रयुक्ते॥ (13.43), तमृषिः पूजयामास कुमारं क्लान्तवाहनम्। तपःप्रभावसिद्धाभिर्विशेषप्रतिपत्तिभिः॥ (15.12).

39. अप्याज्ञया शासितुरात्मना वा प्राप्तोऽसि संभावयितुं वनान्माम्। (5.11).

40. पुरुहूतध्वजस्येव तस्योन्नयनपंक्तयः। नवाभ्युत्थानदर्शिन्यो ननन्दुः सप्रजाः प्रजाः॥ (4.3), तत्रैनं हेमकुम्भेषु संभृतैस्तीर्थवारिभिः। उपतस्थुः प्रकृतयो भद्रपीठोपवेशितम्॥ (17.10), (12.3).

41. उदक्प्रतस्थे स्थिरधीः सानुजोऽग्निपुरःसरः। अन्वितः पतिवात्सल्याद्गृहवर्जमयोध्यया। (15.98), जगृहुस्तस्य चित्तज्ञाः पदवीं हरिराक्षसाः। कदम्बमुकुलस्थूलैरभिवृष्टां प्रजाश्रुभिः॥ (15.99).

42. क्रोशार्धं प्रकृतिपुरःसरेण गत्वा काकुत्स्थः स्तिमितजवेन पुष्पकेण। शत्रुघ्नप्रतिविहितोपकार्यमार्यः साकेतोपवनमुदारमध्युवास॥ (13.79).

43. हैयंगवीनमादाय घोषवृद्धानुपस्थितान्। (1.45).

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would be ready to serve him.[44] All this shows the great respect on the part of the subjects for the king.

The king's craving for the maintenance of his good name and position is thus understandable. The king acted nobly and was eager to earn fame.[45] He was always anxious to create great admiration for himself in the mind of the people.[46] He was reluctant to enjoy the riches of the kingdom,[47] to take measures to protect his life,[48] or even to keep his queen with him,[49] if these facilities went against the wishes of the public.[50]

IV. THE PEOPLES' COUNCIL AND PUBLIC OPINION

We have seen how in principle the king was held in a

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44. सरित्समुद्रान्सरसीश्च गत्वा रक्षःकपीन्द्रैरुपपादितानि . . . . . जलानि। (14.8), सेवाविचक्षणहरीश्वरदत्तहस्तः यानादवातरत्। (13.69), रामाज्ञया हरिचमूपतयस्तदानीं कृत्वा मनुष्यवपुरारुरुहुर्गजेन्द्रान्। (13.74). Even so, the birds like the *jaṭāyu* we find, thought it to be their pious duty to serve the royal and divine king. Cf. f.n. 251 below.

45. (5.2), (4.19), (6.45), (18.28), (14.44), (6.77), (8.29), (7.63), (1.7).

46. स्तूयमानः स जिह्राय स्तुत्यमेव समाचरन्। तथापि ववृधे तस्य तत्कारिद्वेषिणो यशः॥ (17.73).

47. क्षतात्किल त्रायत इत्युदग्रः क्षत्रस्य शब्दो भुवनेषु रूढः। राज्येन किं तद्विपरीतवृत्तेः प्राणैरुपक्रोशमलीमसैर्वा॥(2.53).

48. Ibid, किमप्यहिंस्यस्तव चेन्मतोऽहं यशःशरीरे भव मे दयालुः। एकान्तविध्वंसिषु मद्विधानां पिण्डेष्वनास्था खलु भौतिकेषु॥ (2.57), प्रमदामनु संस्थितः शुचा नृपतिः सन्निति वाच्यदर्शनात्। न चकार शरीरमग्निसात्सह देव्या न तु जीविताशया॥ (8.72), अपि स्वदेहात्किमुतेन्द्रियार्थाद्यशोधनानां हि यशो गरीयः। (14.35).

49. कलत्रनिन्दागुरुणा किलैवमभ्याहतं कीर्तिविपर्ययेण। अयोघनेनाय इवाभितप्तं वैदेहिबन्धोर्हृदयं विदद्रे॥ (14.33), निश्चित्य चानन्यवृत्ति वाच्यं त्यागेन पत्न्याः परिमार्ष्टुमैच्छत्। अपि स्वदेहात्किमुतेन्द्रियार्थाद्यशोधनानां हि यशो गरीयः॥ (14.35).

50. अवैमि चैनामनघेति किन्तु लोकापवादो बलवान्मतो मे। (14.40).

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very high esteem by the people and he could if he chose, do whatever he wished. But in all important matters he took the consent of the *Peoples' Council* (*sabhā*)[51] in which the citizens (*jānapadas*)[52] were represented by the leading and important men (*prakṛtimukhyas*)[53] who acted as its honourable members (*sabhyas*).[54] The king, seated on the royal throne,[55] as the supreme head of the state, presided[56] over the regular sessions of the Council, and as such gave his decisions and rulings. It can, however, safely be presumed that the members of the Council directly and indirectly played a decisive role in the general administration.

The distressed, aggrieved or wronged person had a right to call direct on the king and voice his protest.[57] The common man also enjoyed the freedom of speech. For example, the ever fault-finding, vigilant and complaining (*aghaśaṁkinī*)[58] members of the public criticized even the

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51. स राजककुदव्यग्रपाणिभिः पार्श्ववर्तिभिः। ययावुदीरितालोकः सुधर्मा - नवमां सभाम्॥ (17.27).

52. अथ जानपदो विप्रः। (15.42).

53. तैः कृतप्रकृतिमुख्यसंग्रहैराशु तस्य सहधर्मचारिणी। साधु दृष्टशुभगर्भलक्षणा प्रत्यपद्यत नराधिपश्रियम्। (19.55).

54. सभायां साधवः सभ्याः। Cf. मल्लिनाथ (1.55).

55. वितानसहितं तत्र भेजे पैतृकमासनम्। चूडामणिभिरुद्घृष्टपादपीठं महीक्षिताम्॥ (17.28).

56. (17.27), (17.28).

57. अथ जानपदो विप्रः शिशुमप्राप्तयौवनम्। अवतार्यांकशय्यास्थं द्वारि चक्रन्द भूपतेः॥ (15.42).

58. बाढ़मेषु दिवमेषु पार्थिव कर्म साधयति पुत्रजन्मने। इत्यदर्शितरुजोऽस्य मन्त्रिणः शश्वदूचुरघशंकिनीः प्रजाः॥ (19.52).

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king,[59] who had to remove their doubt or misgiving at all costs.[60]

In this way, we see that public opinion found a proper scope and considerable expression under the government of the *Raghuvamśins*.

V. THE ASSEMBLY OF MINISTERS

It was incumbent upon as well as necessary for an all-powerful king to have the special assistance[61] of the ministers (*mantrins*).[62] The king held daily meetings of the *Assembly of Ministers* (*amātyavarga*)[63] and the high-level discussions therein were maintained as top-secrets[64] until the decisions had become effective and successful.[65] The deliberations were guided by pure and righteous motives and as

59. शोचनीयासि वसुधे या त्वं दशरथाच्च्युता। रामहस्तमनुप्राप्य कष्टात्कष्टतरं गता॥ (15.43), निर्बन्धपृष्टः स जगाद सर्वं स्तुवन्ति पौराश्चरितं त्वदीयम्। अन्यत्र रक्षोभवनोषितायाः परिग्रहान्मानवदेव देव्याः॥(14.32).

60. किमात्मनिर्वादकथामुपेक्षे जायामदोषामुत संत्यजामि। इत्येकपक्षाश्रयविक्लवत्वादासीत्स दोलाचलचित्तवृत्तिः॥ (14.34), निश्चित्य चानन्यवृत्ति वाच्यं त्यागेन पत्न्याः परिमार्ष्टुमैच्छत्। (14.35), अवैमि चैनामनवेति किन्तु लोकापवादो बलवान्मतो मे। (14.40), तामेकभार्यां परिवादभीरोः साध्वीमपि त्यक्तवतो नृपस्य। वक्षस्य संघट्टसुखं वसन्ती रेजे सपत्नीरहितेव लक्ष्मीः॥ (14.86).

61. मन्त्रमूलं यतो राज्यमतो मन्त्रं सुरक्षितम्। कुर्याद्यथा तन्न विदुः कर्मणामाफलोदयात्॥ (याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृ०).

62. (19.54), also called सचिव (19.4) and अमात्य (18.36).

63. स्वर्गामिनस्तस्य तमैकमत्यादमात्यवर्गः कुलतन्तुमेकम्। अनाथदीनाः प्रकृतीरवेक्ष्य साकेतनाथं विधिवच्चकार॥ (18.36).

64. मन्त्रः प्रतिदिनं तस्य बभूव सह मन्त्रिभिः। स जातु सेव्यमानोऽपि गुप्तद्वारो न सूच्यते॥ (17.50).

65. तस्य संवृतमन्त्रस्य गूढाकारेंगितस्य च। फलानुमेयाः प्रारम्भाः संस्काराः प्राक्तना इव॥ (1.20).

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such basically they were unanimous.[66] The *Raghuvaṁśin* was held in very high esteem by them.[67] The Assembly of Ministers formed one homogeneous whole[68] and as such could really help the sovereign to carry out the governmental work.

The *amātyas* were well-versed in the fundamentals of political science (*naya*) and they had the ability to judge what is right and what is wrong.[69] They were advanced in years[70] and experienced in public dealings. They could usually continue to serve under more than one king.[71]

The actual work of administration was carried on by amātyas.[72] Their efficiency made them so reliable that the king could leave the responsibility of administration on them. While the king was engaged in a great sacrifice[73] (*e.g.*, for obtaining a son), or kept himself occupied all the time with sensual luxuries[74] or due to bad health could

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66. नयविद्भिर्नवे राज्ञि सदसच्चोपदर्शितम्। पूर्व एवाभवत्पक्षस्तस्मिन्नाभवदुत्तरः॥ (4.10).

67. मन्त्रिवृद्धानन्वग्रहीत्प्रणमतः शुभदृष्टिपातैर्वार्तानुयोगमधुक्षरया च वाचा। (13.71).

68. Mostly the Ministers acted jointly, for, almost always in this work we hear of 'ministers' and not 'a minister.'

69. नयविदिभर्नवे राज्ञि सदसच्चोपदर्शितम्। (4.10).

70. श्मश्रुप्रवृद्धिजनिताननविक्रियाँश्च प्लक्षान्प्ररोहजटिलानिव मन्त्रिवृद्धान्

71 मौलैः सार्धं स्थविरसचिवैर्हेमसिंहासनस्था राज्ञी राज्यं विधिवदशिषद् भर्तुरव्याहताज्ञा। (19.57).

72 सार्धं स्थविरसचिवैः. · · · राज्ञी राज्यं विधिवदशिषत्। (19.57).

73. सन्तानार्थाय विधये स्वभुजादवतारिता। तेन धूर्जगतो गुर्वी सचिवेषु निचिक्षिपे॥ (1.34), बाढमेष दिवसेषु पार्थिवः कर्म साधयति पुत्रजन्मने। इत्यदर्शितरुजोऽस्य मन्त्रिणः शश्वदूचुरघशंकिनीः प्रजाः। (19.52).

74. सोऽधिकारमभिकः कुलोचितं काश्चन स्वयमवर्तयत्समाः। संनिवेष्य सचिवेष्वतः परं स्त्रीविधेयनवयौवनोऽभवत्॥ (19.4), गौरवाद्यदपि जातु मन्त्रिणां दर्शनं प्रकृतिकांक्षितं ददौ। तद्गवाक्षविवरावलम्बिना केवलेन चरणेन कल्पितम्॥ (19.7), एवमिन्द्रियसुखानि निर्विशन्नन्यकार्यविमुखः स पार्थिवः। आत्मलक्षणनिवेदितानृतूनत्यवाहयदनंगवाहितः॥ (19.47).

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not attend to his work[75]—they discharged all his duties. Also, during the period of succession and coronation, the state department kept on functioning under their masterly supervision. Their Assembly, as such, could function even without the king and during such emergencies was always the supreme authority[76] in the kingdom. In this sense, the king's powers were limited. For, it seems that though in theory the king was primarily responsible for all actions, in practice the Assembly was the real ruler of the kingdom, and during the king's weakness or incapacity it even superseded him.

As trustees and officials of royal stature, the Ministers duly enthroned the *Raghuvaṁśin* after his predecessor.[77] (However, the actual ceremony required the active participation of the *kulaguru*[78] and the *purohita*[79]). They did all their duties in the name of 'His Excellency'[80] (*mahārāja*), the king. As such, they were careful that the king should be well-informed on all matters, that he should on important occasions appear among the masses,[81] that the weakness of the monarch should not be known to his subjects,[82] that the

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75. आमयस्तु रतिरागसंभवो दक्षशाप इव चन्द्रमक्षिणोत्। (19.48).

76. गौरवाद्यदपि जातु मन्त्रिणां दर्शनं प्रकृतिकांक्षितं ददौ। (19.7).

77. स्वर्गामिनस्तस्य तमैकमत्यादमात्यवर्गः कुलतन्तुमेकम्। अनाथदीनाः प्रकृतीरवेक्ष्य साकेतनाथं विधिवच्चकार ॥ (18.36), तैः कृतप्रकृतिमुख्यसंग्रहैराशु तस्य सहधर्मचारिणी। साधु दृष्टशुभगर्भलक्षणा प्रत्यपद्यत नराधिपश्रियम् ॥ (19.55), अथाभिषेकं रघुवंशकेतोः प्रारब्धमानन्दजलैर्जनन्योः। निर्वर्तयामासुरमात्यवृद्धास्तीर्थाहृतैः काञ्चनकुम्भतोयैः ॥ (14.7).

78. अनुभय वसिष्ठसंभृतैः सलिलैस्तेन सहाभिषेचनम्। (8.3).

79. पुरोहितपुरोगास्तं जिष्णुं जैत्रैरथर्वभिः। उपचक्रमिरे पूर्वमभिषेक्तुं द्विजातयः ॥ (17.13).

80. मणौ महानील इति प्रभावादल्पप्रमाणेऽपि यथा न मिथ्या। शब्दो महाराज इति प्रतीतस्तथैव तस्मिन्युयुजेऽर्भकेऽपि ॥ (18.42).

81. गौरवाद्यदपि जातु मन्त्रिणां दर्शनं प्रकृतिकांक्षितं ददौ। (19.7).

82. बाढमेष दिवसेषु पार्थिवः कर्म साधयति पुत्रजन्मने। इत्यदर्शितरुजोऽस्य मन्त्रिणः शश्वदूचुरघशंकिनीः प्रजाः ॥ (19.52).

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State traditions and conventions should be respected, and that a breakdown in the smooth administration should tactfully be avoided.

VI. THE SECRET SERVICE

For the welfare of the State, the king was in need of direct contact with the citizens.[83] For this, he had employed spies. The spies brought him from all parts of his kingdom, reports about the latest happenings, grievances, current talks,[84] and criticism of the ruler and his administration in the public. Nobody but he, received the spies in complete privacy.[85] They did not know one another among themselves and were scattered in various different localities. Thus, the king kept himself informed of all the latest situations in the political, social and public spheres.[86] Even about his own high and low officers, he knew through them.[87] The secrets, loopholes and plans of his adversaries and neighbours were obtained through these intelligent officials.[88] The king could even know how the people thought of him and whether they approved of his acts or not.[89] On the

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83. सर्वत्र नो वार्तमवेहि राजन्नाथे कुतस्त्वय्यशुभं प्रजानाम्। सूर्ये तपत्यावरणाय दृष्टेःकल्पेत लोकस्य कथं तमिस्रा॥ (5.13).

84. स किम्वदन्तीं वदतां पुरोगः स्ववृत्तमुद्दिश्य विशुद्धवृत्तः। सर्वाधिराजोरुभुजोऽपसर्पं प्रच्छ भद्रं विजितारिभद्रः॥ (14.31).

85. *Ibid.*, निर्बन्धपृष्टः स जगाद सर्वम्। (14.32).

86. न तस्य मण्डले राज्ञो न्यस्तप्रणिधिदीधितेः। अदृष्टमभवत्किञ्चिद्व्यभ्रस्येव विवस्वतः॥ (17.48).

87. परेषु स्वेषु च क्षिप्तैरविज्ञातपरस्परैः सोऽपसर्पैर्जजागार यथाकालं स्वपन्नपि॥ (17.51). Cf. स्वेषु मन्त्र्यादितीर्थेषु। (मल्लिनाथ)।

88. *Ibid*, Cf. परेषु शत्रुषु। (मल्लिनाथ), also Cf. चारान्विसर्जयेन्तीर्थेष्वात्मनश्च परस्य च। षाण्ड्यादीनविज्ञातानन्योन्यमितैरपि॥ (कामन्दकनीति०)।

89. स किम्वदन्तीं....स्ववृत्तमुद्दिश्य.... पप्रच्छ भद्रम्। (14.31), निर्बन्धपृष्टः स जगाद सर्वं स्तुवन्ति पौराश्चरितं त्वदीयम्। अन्यत्र रक्षोभवनोषितायाः परिग्रहान्मानवदेव देव्याः॥ (14.32).

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basis of all this information, he devised means to remove[90] the doubts and grievances of the public. In this way, the secret service was the most important and potent machinery at the disposal of the *Raghuvaṁśin* like other ideal kings of ancient India, for being truly faithful to the public opinion.

The following lines, possessing richly suggestive undertones and overtones of meaning, throw much light on the conduct of the spies (*apa-sarpas*) :[91]

Sa kimvadantīṁ vadatām purogaḥ svavṛttamuddiśya viśuddhavṛttaḥ |
Sarpādhirājorubhujo-apasarpam papraccha bhadram vijitāribhadraḥ | |

The instance on serpent (*sarpa*) is important. The spy had to go stealthily and windingly, so that none might easily suspect him and detect his intentions. He had ever to be on his guard, and attentive (cf. the *sarpa* listening to the tune of a fiddle). Often he made his way tortuously. He had to be fearless and impartial. The keen intellectual insight of the *apa-sarpa* can be compared to the high sensibility of the serpent (cf. how soon it gets to the scented flower-plants, camphor etc.). His eyes ever sought the vices, crimes and acts of treason of those he came in contact with (again, like the *vivarānveṣin sarpa*). Having once found a reason, he did not let go the guilty unscathed or unpunished, which is also a characteristic of the *sarpa* (cf. how the python coils and twists even the lion until the latter is out of breath).[92]

The *apa-sarpa's* integrity and incorruptibility of character is crystallised in the term *viśuddhavṛttaḥ* (which, however, is actually used in the text for the king). Moreover, the

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90. पौरेषु सोऽहं बहुलीभवन्तमपां तरंगेष्विव तैलबिन्दुम्। सोढुं न तत्पूर्वमवर्णमीशे आलानिकं स्थाणुमिव द्विपेन्द्रः॥ (14.38).

91. (17.51), Cf. 'अपसर्पश्चरः स्पशः' (अमरकोषः)।

92 The epithet सर्पाधिराजोरुभुजः applies, however, more appropriately to the king than to the spy in the verse. Cf. the expression "long arms of the law."

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name *bhadra* suggests the essential goodness and graciousness of the spies. The spy's cunning and vile (cf. the vile nature of the *sarpa*) use of words (cf. *vadatām purogaḥ*) was a great asset to him for extracting useful information from his conversations. Note that rumours and gossips (*kiṁvadantīm*) formed the most reliable, readily available and direct source of information.

By the way, it may also be noted that the prefix *apa* also suits the character of the spy. Ordinarily, this *upasarga* means *to be away*. This shows that the spy cunningly may disappear from the place where he was seen last not giving a chance to the ordinary man to spot him out.

VII. PUBLIC WELFARE

The king was dedicated to the happiness of the subjects.[93] In fact, he distinguished himself on this account.[94] He built beautiful gardens[95] in his kingdom where people could amuse and recreate themselves. Music,[96] dance,[97]

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93. यथा प्रह्लादनाच्चन्द्रः प्रतापात्तपनो यथा। तथैव सोऽभूदन्वर्थो राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनात्॥ (4.12).

94. असौ शरण्यः शरणोन्मुखानामगाधसत्त्वो मगधप्रतिष्ठः। राजा प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवर्णः परन्तपो नाम यथार्थनामा॥ (6.21).

95 साकेतोपवनमुदारमध्युवास। (13.79), आवर्ज्य शाखाः सदयं च यासां पुष्पाण्युपात्तानि विलासिनीभिः। वन्यैः पुलिन्दैरिव वानरैस्ताः क्लिश्यन्त उद्यानलता मदीयाः॥ (15.19), स कदाचिदवेक्षितप्रजः सह देव्या विजहार सुप्रजाः। नगरोपवने शचीसखो मरुतां पालयितेव नन्दने॥ (8.32), उपान्तवानीरगृहाणि ... सरयूजलानि। (15.21), विलासिभिश्चाध्युषितानि पौरैः पुरोपकण्ठोपवनानि रेमे। (14.30).

96. सुखश्रवा मंगलतूर्यनिःस्वनाः। (3.19), प्रसक्तसंगीतमृदंगघोषः। (13.40), वल्लकी च हृदयंगमस्वना। (19.13), वेणुना ... वीणया ... शिल्पकार्य उभयेन वेजितास्त ःयलोभयन्। (19.35).

97. प्रमोदनृत्यैः सह वारयोषिताम्। (3.19), नर्तकीरभिनयातिलंघिनीः पार्श्ववर्तिषु गुरुष्वलज्जयत्। (19.14).

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drawing[98] and drama,[99] and other fine arts[100] were adequately patronised. Pompuous celebrations and public gatherings on various festive occasions (*utsavas*) were every common.[101]

The abilities and the riches of the king were for the benefit of the people.[102] Like their devoted son, he would console and remove the grief of the people.[103]

He looked after his beloved subjects like an affectionate father.[104] He was the protector[105] (*gopta*)[106] especially for the peasants,[107] foresters[108] and travellers.[109] Public places[110]

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98. वर्तते स्म स कथञ्चिदलिखन्नंगुलीक्षरणसन्नवर्तिकः। (19.19).

99. अ[illegible]चनाश्रयं मिथः स्त्रीषु नृत्यमुपधाय दर्शयन्। स प्रयोगनिपुणै. प्रयोक्तृभिः संजघर्ष सह मित्रसंनिधौ॥ (19.36).

100. प्रियशिष्या ललिते कलाविधौ। (8.67).

101. ऋद्धिमन्तमधिकर्द्धिरुत्तरः पूर्वमुत्सवमपोहदुत्सवः। (19.5).

102. वसु तस्य विभोर्न केवलं गुणवत्तापि परप्रयोजना। (8.31), तेनार्थवाँल्लोभपराङ्मुखेन तेन घ्नता विघ्नभयं क्रियावान्। तेनास लोकः पितृमान्विनेत्रा तेनैव शोकापनुदेन पुत्री॥ (14.23), प्रजाक्षेमविधानदक्षम्। (18.9).

103. तेनैव शोकापनुदेन पुत्री। (14.23), स मुहूर्तं क्षमस्वेति द्विजमाश्वास्य दुःखितम्। (15.45).

104. अहमेव मतो महीपतेरिति सर्वः प्रकृतिष्वचिन्तयत्। उदधेरिव निम्नगाशतेष्वभवन्नास्य विमानना क्वचित्॥ (8.8), प्रजानां विनयाधानाद्रक्षणाद्भरणादपि। स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः॥ (1.24), जीवन्पुनः शश्वदुपप्लवेभ्यः प्रजाः प्रजानाथ पितेव पासि। (2.48), तेनास लोकः पितृमान्विनेत्रा। (14.23), अथ वीक्ष्य रघुः प्रतिष्ठितं प्रकृतिष्वात्मजमात्मवत्तया। (8.10).

105. अवतां च धुरि स्थितः। (9.1), नाथे कुतस्त्वय्यशुभं प्रजानाम्। (5.13), नरलोकपालान्। (6.1).

106. तस्मिन्वने गोप्तरि गाहमाने। (2.14).

107. नीवारपाकादिकडंगरीयैरामृश्यते जानपदैर्न कच्चित्। कालोपपन्नातिथिकल्प्यभागं वन्यं शरीरस्थितिसाधनं वः॥ (5.9), He encouraged cultivation by bringing under the plough new areas from the forests and providing major schemes for the irrigation of barren lands. मरुपृष्ठान्युदम्भांसि नाव्याः सुप्रतराः नदीः। विपिनानि प्रकाशानि शक्तिमत्त्वाच्चकार सः॥ (4.31).

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and private property were safe.[111] It is remarkable that trade and commerce were made profluent and flourishing.[112] Theft was unknown.[113] Fruits and flowers were most abundant.[114] Even the animals did not harm one another.[115] The armed forces were used by the king for the prosperity of all sections of the society.[116] He was prepared to save life and person of all even at the risk of his own life.[117] He was a great refuge for those who sought it, especially for those who had grief or fear on some account.[118]

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108 आपाद्यते न व्ययमन्तरायैः कच्चिन्महर्षेस्त्रिविधं तपस्तत्। (5.5), कच्चिन्मृगीणामनघा प्रसूतिः। (5.7), कच्चिन्न वाय्वादिरुपप्लवो वः श्रमच्छिदामाश्रमपादपानाम्। (5.6), शशाम वृष्ट्यापि विना दवाग्निरासीद्विशेषा फलपुष्पवृद्धिः। ऊन न सत्त्वेष्वधिको बबाधे तस्मिन्वनं गोप्तरि गाहमाने॥ (2.14), त्राणाभावे हि शापास्त्राः कुर्वन्ति तपसो व्ययम् ॥ (15.3).

109. यस्मिन्महीं शासति वाणिनीनां निद्रां विहारार्धपथे गतानाम्।
वातोऽपि नास्त्रंसयदंशुकानि को लम्बयेदाहरणाय हस्तम्॥ (6.75).

110. अमी जनस्थानमपोढविघ्नं मत्वा समारब्धोटजानि।
अध्यासते चीरभृतो यथास्वं चिरोज्झितान्याश्रममण्डलानि॥ (13.22).

111. जीवन्पुनः शश्वदुपप्लवेभ्यः प्रजाः प्रजानाथ पितेव पासि। (2.48), तपो रक्षन्स विघ्नेभ्यस्तस्करेभ्यश्च संपदः। (17.65).

112. ऋद्धापणं राजपथं स पश्यन्विगाह्यमानां सरयूं च नौभिः। (14.30), वापीष्विव स्रवन्तीषु वनेष्वुपवनेष्विव। सार्थाः स्वैरं स्वकीयेषु चेरुर्वेश्मास्विवाद्रिषु॥ (17.64).

113. न किलानुययुस्तस्य राजानो रक्षितुर्यशः। व्यावृत्ता यत्परस्वेभ्यः श्रुतौ तस्करता स्थिता॥ (1.27).

114. आसीद्विशेषा फलपुष्पवृद्धिः। (2.14), क्षितिरभूत्फलवती। (9.4).

115. ऊनं न सत्त्वेष्वधिको बबाधे तस्मिन्वनं गोप्तरि गाहमाने। (2.14).

116. वार्षिकं संजहारेन्द्रो धनुर्जैत्रं रघुर्दधौ।
प्रजार्थसाधने तौ हि पर्यायोद्यतकार्मुकौ॥ (4.16).

117. स त्वं मदीयेन शरीरवृत्तिं देहेन निर्वर्तयितुं प्रसीद। दिनावसानोत्सुकबालवत्सा विसृज्यतां धेनुरियं महर्षेः॥ (2.45), भवानपीदं परवानवैति महान्हि यत्नस्तव देवदारौ। स्थातुं नियोक्तुर्न हि शक्यमग्रे विनाश्य रक्ष्यं स्वयमक्षतेन॥ (2.56).

118. असौ शरण्यः शरणोन्मुखानामगाधसत्त्वो मगधप्रतिष्ठः। (6.21), लवणेन विलुप्तेज्यास्तामिस्रेण तमभ्ययुः। मुनयो यमुनाभाजः शरण्यं शरणार्थिनः॥ (15.2), विभूषणप्रत्युपहारहस्तमुपस्थितं वीक्ष्य विशाम्पतिस्तम्। सौपर्णमस्त्रं

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There were scarce instances of common diseases,[119] due to the fact that the physicians (*vaidyas*)[120] were efficient.[121] There were some very potent medicines in use.[122] Nevertheless, they did not succeed in remedying deadly diseases.[123] Every precaution was taken by the state to check insanitary conditions[124] and the spread of infectious diseases.[125]

The Raghuvaṁśin king was well-known for his charity.[126] All the wealth that he used to collect[127] was spent unreservedly for the public good.[128] Beggars,[129] mendi-

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प्रतिसंजहार प्रह्वेष्वानन्धरुषो हि सन्तः ।। (16.80), बलमार्तभयोपशान्तये। (8.31).

119. जनपदे न गदः पदमादधौ। (9.4).

120. (19.53).

121. वैद्ययत्नपरिभाविनं गदम्।(19.53)

122. तदपोहितुमर्हसि प्रिये प्रतिबोधेन विषादमाशु मे। ज्वलितेन गुहागतं तमस्तुहिनाद्रेरिव नक्तमोषधिः ।। (8.54), स मारुतिसमानीतमहौषधिहृतव्यथः। (12.78).

123. नृपतेर्व्यजनादिभिस्तमो नुनुदे सा तु तथैव संस्थिता। प्रतिकारविधानमायुषः सति शेषे हि फलाय कल्पते ।। (8.40). Here, it is notable that, because of the influence of the law of *karman* (as the poet seems to have in mind), *Indumatī* could not be brought back to life by the physicians.

124. तं विनिष्पिष्य काकुत्स्थौ पुरा दूषयति स्थलीम्। गन्धेनाशुचिना चेति वसुधायां निचख्नतुः ।। (12.30).

125. तं गृहोपवन एवं संगताः पश्चिमक्रतुविदा पुरोधसा। रोगशान्तिमपदिश्य मन्त्रिणः शिखिनि गूढमादधुः ।। (19.54).

126. यथाकामार्चितार्थिनाम्। (1.6), (1.7), (1.44), (2.49), (4.86), (5.16), (5.24) (5.15), (9.3), (11. 2).

127. अगृध्नुराददे सोऽर्थम्। (1.21).

129. वसु तस्य विभोः...परप्रयोजना। (8.31), त्यागाय संभृतार्थानाम्। (1.7), कोशेनाश्रयणीयत्वमिति तस्यार्थसंग्रहः। (17.60).

129. तदन्यतस्तावदनन्यकार्यो गुर्वर्थमाहर्तुमहं यतिष्ये। स्वस्त्यस्तु ते निर्गलिताम्बुगर्भं शरद्घनं नार्दति चातकोऽपि ।। (5.17).

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cants,[130] scholars,[131] students[132] and all sorts of claimants of and aspirants after wealth never went disappointed from the king.[133] Often times, the king gave away everything he had so that he had nothing left for himself except a hut and a few earthen pots.[134] According to the family tradition of a *Raghuvaṁśin,* even his own life was dispensable for the good of others.[135]

The warrior (*mahārathin*)[136] kings's victorious bow[137] ensured the security of the kingdom from outside. He had conquered his foes in the whole world[138] and, as such, he was called *parantapa,*[139] i.e., 'one who for ever is a great threat (and cause of sorrow) for his enemies.'

It was the king's duty[140] to see that his subjects strictly

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130. अथैकधेनोरपराधचण्डाद्गुरोः कृशानुप्रतिमाद् बिभेषि। शक्योऽस्य मन्युर्भवता विनेतुं गाः कोटिशः स्पर्शयता घटोध्नीः॥ (2.49).

131. कुशावतीं श्रोत्रियसात्स कृत्वा। (16.25), विदुषां सत्कृतये बहु श्रुतम् वसु तस्य विभोः। (8.31).

132. गुर्वर्थमर्थी श्रुतपारदृश्वा रघोः सकाशादनवाप्य कामम। गतो वदान्यान्तरमित्ययं मे मा भूत्परीवादनवावतारः॥ (5.24), स तावदभिषेकान्ते स्नातकेभ्यो ददौ वसु। (17.17).

133. गतो वदान्यान्तरमित्ययं मे मा भूत्परीवादनवावतारः। (5.24).

134. सन्तस्तस्याभिगमनादत्यर्थं महतः कृशाः। उदधेरिव जीमूताः प्रापुर्दातृत्वमर्थिनः॥ (17.72), विश्वजितमाजह्रे यज्ञं सर्वस्वदक्षिणम्। आदानं हि विसर्गाय सतां वारिमुचामिव॥ (4.86), पुत्रो रघुस्तस्य पदं प्रशास्ति महाक्रतोर्विश्वजितोः प्रयोक्ता। चतुर्दिगावर्जितां यो मृत्पात्रशेषामकरोद्विभूतिम॥ (6.76), स मृण्मये वीतहिरण्मयत्वात्पात्रे निधायार्घ्यमनर्घशीलः। (5.2).

135. अप्यप्सु प्रणयिनां रघोः कुले न व्यहन्यत कदाचिदर्थिता। (11.2).

136 (9.1), (9.19).

137. धनुर्जैत्रं रघुर्दधौ। (4.16).

138. उत्खातलोकत्रयकण्टकेऽपि। (14.73).

139. परन्तपो नाम यथार्थनामा। (6.21).

140. वृत्ते स्थितस्याधिपतेः प्रजानाम्। (5.33), रात्रिन्दिवविभागेषु यदादिष्टं महीक्षिताम्। तत्सिषेवे नियोगेन स विकल्पपराङ्मुखः॥ (17.49).

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adhered to the righteous code of conduct[141] (*vidhi*) prescribed in our *śāstras.* The law of Manu that the king should look after the *varṇas*[142] (the different classes in society) and the *āśramas*[143] (the four stages of life) conformed to the tradition of this dynasty.[144]

He had to enforce law and discipline among the subjects.[145] He himself possessed a pure conduct[146] and a sound character.[147] This is why, he could serve and propagate the cause of *dharma* or moral and righteous living on earth,[148] which in its turn led to the well-being of society. An unusual mishap[149] gave to the king the signal for an

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141. रेखामात्रमपि आ क्षुण्णादा मनोर्वर्त्मनः परम्। न व्यतीयुः प्रजास्तस्य नियन्तुर्नेमिवृत्तयः ॥ (1.17).

142. इत्याप्तवचनाद्रामो विनेष्यन्वर्णविक्रियाम्। दिशः पपात पत्रेण वेगनिष्कम्पकेतुना ॥ (15.48), चिरोढां... वर्णचतुष्टयस्य धुरम्। (18.12), तपस्यनधिकारित्वात्प्रजानां तमघावहम्। शीर्षच्छेद्यं परिच्छिद्य शस्त्रमाददे ॥ (15.51).

143. नृपस्य वर्णाश्रमपालनं यत्स एव धर्मो मनुना प्रणीतः। निर्वासिताप्येवमतस्त्वयाहं तपस्विसामान्यमवेक्षणीया ॥ (14.67), ततो यथावद्विहिताध्वराय तस्मै स्मयावेशविवर्जिताय। वर्णाश्रमाणां गुरवे स वर्णी विचक्षणः प्रस्तुतमाचचक्षे ॥ (5.19), वर्णाश्रमावेक्षणजागरूकः। (14.85).

144. विधिवद्यदपालयत्प्रकृतिमण्डलमात्मकुलोचितम् । (9.2).

145. तिसृभिरेव भुवं सह शक्तिभिः उपगतो विनिनीषुरिव प्रजाः हरिहयोऽरिहयोगविचक्षणः। (9.18), प्रजानां विनयाधानात्। (1.24).

146. आचारशुद्धोभयवंशदीपम्। (6.45), विशुद्धवृत्तः। (14.31), उदारशीलः। (18.17), तमात्मसंपन्नमनिन्दितात्मा कृत्वा युवानं युवराजमेव। सुखानि सोऽभुंक्त सुखोपरोधि वृत्तं हि राज्ञामुपरुद्धवृत्तम् ॥ (18.18).

147. आजन्मशुद्धानाम्। (1.5), आसीन्महीक्षितामाद्यः प्रणवश्छन्दसामिव। (1.11), तदन्वये शुद्धिमति प्रसूतः शुद्धिमत्तरः। दिलीप इति राजेन्दुरिन्दुः क्षीरनिधाविव ॥ (1.12), अनर्घशीलः। (5.2), अनित्याः शत्रवो बाह्या विप्रकृष्टाश्च ते यतः। अतः सोऽभ्यन्तरान्नित्यान्षट्पूर्वमजयद्रिपून्। (17.45).

148. धर्मसंरक्षणार्थैव प्रवृत्तिर्भुवि शार्ङ्गिणः। (15.4).

149. श्रुत्वा तस्य शुचो हेतुं गोप्ता जिह्राय राघवः। न ह्यकालभवो मृत्युरिक्ष्वाकुपदमस्पृशत् ॥ (15.44).

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apacāra or sinful activity somewhere.[150] He was a friend of the religious and the righteous persons.[151] In this way, the upholding of moral and spiritual values in society was the duty of the government.

Hence, under the welfare government (*saurājya*)[152] of the *Raghuvaṁśin*, who always attended to the tasks of the public in time,[153] the people were very prosperous[154] and happy.[155]

VIII. JUDICIARY

The king himself was the sole and the highest judge for the suits arising between the plaintiffs and the defendants.[156] He always supported the righteous. Yet, the king, endowed with compassion,[158] enjoyed the right of

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150. राजन्प्रजासु ते कश्चिदपचारः प्रवर्तते। तमन्विष्य प्रशमयेर्भवितासि तत. कृती ॥ (15.47).

151. धर्मस्थसख.। (17.39).

152. या सौराज्यप्रकाशाभिर्बभौ पौरविभूतिभिः। स्वर्गाभिष्यन्दवमनं कृत्वेवोपनिवेशिता॥ (15.29), वस्वौकसारामभिभूय साहं सौराज्यबद्धोत्सवया विभूत्या। समग्रशक्तौ त्वयि सूर्यवंश्ये सति प्रपन्ना करुणामवस्थाम्॥ (16.10).

153. स पौरकार्याणि समीक्ष्य काले। (14.24).

154. बभौ पौरविभूतिभिः स्वर्गाभिष्यन्दवमनं कृत्वेवोपनिवेशिता॥ (15.29), पदमृद्धमजेन पैतृकम्। (8.6), प्रजास्तद्गुरुणा नद्यो नभसेव विवर्धिताः। तस्मिंस्तु भूयसीं वृद्धिं नमस्ये ता इवाययुः॥ (17.41).

155. तस्मिन्कुलापीडनिभे विपीडं सम्यङ् महीं शासति शासनांकाम्। प्रजाश्चिरं सुप्रजसि प्रजेशे ननन्दुरानन्दजलाविलाक्ष्यः॥ (18.29).

156. शश्वदर्थप्रत्यर्थिनां स्वयं ददर्श संशयच्छेद्यान् व्यवहारानतन्द्रितः। (17.39).

157. स धर्मस्थसखः (17.29), द्वेष्योऽपि संमतः शिष्टस्तस्यार्तस्य यथौषधम्। त्याज्यो दुष्टः प्रियोऽप्यासीदंगुलीवोरगक्षता॥ (1.28).

158. क्षमयोपपन्नम्। (18.9); राजसत्त्वमवधूय मातृकं पित्र्यमस्मि गमितः शमं यदा। नन्वनिन्दितफलो मम त्वया निग्रहोऽप्यनुग्रहीकृतः॥ (11.90).

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awarding mercy to the accused.[159] Dextral[160] and full punishment,[161] often comprising of death-penalty[162] and imprisonment, had almost eradicated the unlawful offences.[163] He punished a person according to his guilt.[164] His impartial[165] judgement is well illustrated when we notice that King *Rāma's* queen *Sīta* was asked to convince the public of her innocence.[166] Because of his great vigilance and influence,[167] vandalism[168] and rudeness[169] had disappeared from among the people.

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159. न संयतस्तस्य बभूव रक्षितुर्विसर्जयेद्यं सुतजन्महर्षितः। ऋणाभिधाना स्वयमेव केवलं तदा पितॄणां मुमुचे स बन्धात् ॥ (3.20), बन्धच्छेदं स बद्धानां वधार्हाणामवध्यताम्। धुर्याणां च धुरो मोक्षमदोहं चादिशद्गवाम ॥ (17.19).

160. पर्णशालामथ क्षिप्रं विप्रकृष्टासिः प्रविष्य सः।
वैरूप्यपौनरुक्त्येन भीषणां तामयोजयत् ॥ (12.40).

161. स्थित्यै दण्डयतो दण्ड्यान्। (1.25), स हि सर्वस्य लोकस्य युक्तदण्डतया मनः। आददे नातिशीतोष्णो नभस्वानिव दक्षिणः ॥ (4.8).

162. वधार्हाणामवध्यतां.... चादिशत्। (17.19).

163. न संयतस्तस्य बभूव रक्षितुः। (3.20).

164. यथापराधदण्डानाम् (1.6).

165. द्वेष्योऽपि संमतः शिष्टस्तस्यार्तस्य यथौषधम्। त्याज्यो दुष्टः प्रियोऽप्यासीदंगुलीवोरगक्षता ॥ (1.28).

166. तात शुद्धा समक्षं नः स्नुषा ते जातवेदसि। दौरात्म्याद्रक्षसस्तां तु नात्रत्याः श्रद्दधुः प्रजाः ॥ (15.72), ताः स्वचारित्रमुद्दिश्य प्रत्याययतु मैथिली। ततः पुत्रवतीमेनां प्रतिपत्स्ये त्वदाज्ञया ॥ (15.73).

167. अकार्यचिन्तासमकालमेव प्रादुर्भवँश्चापधरः पुरस्तात्। अन्तःशरीरेष्वपि यः प्रजानां प्रत्यादिदेशाविनयं विनेता ॥ (6.39).

168. यस्मिन्महीं शासति वाणिनीनां निद्रां विहारार्धपथे गतानाम्। वातोऽपि नास्रंसयदंशुकानि को लम्बयेदाहरणाय हस्तम ॥ (6.75).

169. प्रजानां विनयाधानात्। (1.24), प्रियतमाभिरसौ तिसृभिर्बभौ तिसृभिरेव भुवं सह शक्तिभिः। उपगतो विनिनीषुरिव प्रजा हरिहयोऽरिहयोगविचक्षणः ॥ (9.18).

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IX. STATE TREASURY

The king had full control[170] over the state's incomes.[171] People, whatsoever *varṇa* (class of society) and *āśrama* (stage of life) they belonged to, had to pay a tax on their possessions.[172] Fields, mines and forests[173] were permanent sources of income to the State Treasury (*rājakośa*) which was run by a separate personnel.[174] The State collected[175] the one-sixth portion[176] of the agricultural products (*bali*)[177] as land revenue, acquired precious jewels from mines[178] and elephants from the forests[179] (deployed as royal vehicle and as part of army built-up). Even in big forests agriculture was

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170. अर्थपतिः । (1.59).

171. Land was the principal source for income and no wonder, the state's huge property and riches often seem conveyed and reflected in भूमि and its पर्याय्s whenever they are used. Cf. अनेन पाणौ विधिवद्गृहीते महाकुलीनेन महीव गुर्वी रत्नानुविद्धार्णवमेखलाया दिशः सपत्नी भव दक्षिणस्याः ॥ (6.63), क्षितिः. . . . पतिमासाद्य तमग्र्यपौरुषं बहुरत्न-सूरभूत् । (8.28).

172. तपो रक्षन्स विघ्नेभ्यस्तस्करेभ्यश्च संपदः । यथास्वमाश्रमैश्चक्रे वर्णैरपि षडंशभाक् ॥ (17.65). Accordingly, the sages too, gave part of their पुण्य or तपस् ।

173. खनिभिः सुषुवे रत्नं क्षेत्रैः स्यं वनैर्गजान् । दिदेश वेतनं तस्मै रक्षा-सदृशमेव भूः ॥ (17.66).

174. कोशगृहे नियुक्ताः । (5.29).

175. अगृध्नुराददे सोऽर्थम् । (1.21), प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताभ्यो बलि-मग्रहीत् ।(1.18).

176. अधस्यमिच्छामि तवोपभोक्तुं षष्ठांशमुर्व्या इव रक्षितायाः ।(2.66), तान्युञ्छषष्ठांकितसैकतानि शिवानि वस्तीर्थजलानि कच्चित् । (5.8), षडंशभाक् । (17.65).

177. प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताभ्यो बलिमग्रहीत् । सहस्रगुणमुत्स्रष्टुमादत्ते हि रसान्रविः ॥ (1.18). Cf. बलिं षष्ठांशरूपं करम् । (मल्लिनाथ) ।

178. खनिभिः सुषुवे रत्नम् । (17.66).

179. वनैर्गजान् । (17.66).

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encouraged[180] as it provided a further source of income[181] to the State. Also, frequently the citizens brought small gifts to the king.[182]

By the help of his mighty arms, the king acquired the riches in all the directions.[183] The tributary kings always brought to him great gifts.[184] He even forced[185] them to part with some of their wealth, on the strength of his invincible might. The friendly kings presented heaps of wealth before the sovereign *Raghuvaṁśin* king.[186] The king's treasury always remained undiminished and has been personified very often as his devoted and fruitful wife[187] or as the goddess of wealth.[188] Indeed no government worth

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180. नीवारपाकादिकडंकगरीयैरामृश्यते जानपदैर्न कच्चित्। कालोपपन्नातिथिकल्प्यभागं वन्यं शरीरास्थितिसाधनं वः ।। (5.9).

181. तान्युञ्छषष्ठांकितसैकतानि शिवानि वस्तीर्थजलानि कच्चित्। (5.8).

182. हैयंगवीनमादाय घोषवृद्धानुपस्थितान्। (1.45).

183. भुजार्जितानां च दिगन्तसम्पदाम्। (3.10), भुजसमाहृतदिग्वसुना। (9.20), चतुर्दिगावर्जितसंभृतां . . . विभूतिम्। (6.76).

184. तमध्वराय मुक्ताश्वं रक्षःकपिनरेश्वराः। मेघाः सस्यमिवाम्भोभिरभ्यवर्षन्नुपायनैः ।। (15.58), आपादपद्मप्रणताः कलमा इव ते रघुम्। फलैः संवर्धयामासुरुत्खातप्रतिरोपिताः ।। (4.37), परस्परेण विज्ञातस्तेषूपायनपाणिषु। राज्ञा हिमवतः सारो राज्ञः सारो हिमाद्रिणा ।। (4.79).

185. तं भूपतिर्भासुरहेमराशिं लब्धं कुबेरादभियास्यमानात्। (5.30), प्रमन्यवः प्रागपि कोसलेन्द्रे प्रत्येकमात्तस्वतया बभूवुः (7.34).

186. See f. n. 189 below.

187. कलत्रवन्तमात्मानमवरोधे महत्यपि। तया मेने मनस्विन्या लक्ष्म्या च वसुधाधिपः ।। (1.32), अनेन पाणौ विधिवद्गृहीते महाकुलीनेन महीव गुर्वी। रत्नानुविद्धार्णवमेखलाया दिशः सपत्नी भव दक्षिणस्याः ।। (6.63), सदयं बुभुजे महाभुजः सहसोद्वेगमियं व्रजेदिति। अचिरोपनतां स मेदिनीं नवपाणिग्रहणां वधूमिव ।। (8.7), वसुधेयमवेक्ष्यत त्वया वसुमत्या हि नृपाः कलत्रिणः। (8.83).

188. प्रसादाभिमुखे तस्मिंश्चपलापि स्वभावतः। निकषे हेमरेखेव श्रीरासीदनपायिनी ।। (17.46), येन श्रियः संशयदोषरूढं स्वभावलोलेत्ययशः प्रमृष्टम्। (6.4), छायामण्डललक्ष्येण तमदृश्या किलस्वयम्। पद्मा पद्मातपत्रेण भेजे साम्राज्यदीक्षितम् ।। (4.5).

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the name can be run with an emaciated or bankrupt treasury.[188]

X. ARMY

The *Raghuvaṁśin's* great empire[189] was surrounded by the oceans[190] and bounded by the Himalayas,[191] and there was not a single rival king to him in the whole sub-continent.[192] He was able to protect[193] and rule all over his empire.[194] Perhaps, as in the case of most of the ancient kings, the *Raghuvaṁśins* may be supposed to have ruled over the whole of the *Āryāvarta* as far as the modern Indian Ocean.[195]

The army was important for the State's security and its

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189. The empiricism of the king is sufficiently testified by even a nodding acquaintance with the रघुवंश.

190. आसमुद्रक्षितीशानाम्। (1.5), स वेलावप्रवलयां परिखीकृतसागराम.... उर्वीम्। (1.30).

191. सामन्तसंभावनयैव धीरः कैलासनाथं तरसा जिगीषुः। (5.28), शरैरुत्सवसंकेतान्स कृत्वा विरतोत्सवान्। नाराचक्षेपणीयाश्-निष्पेषोत्पतितानलम्॥ (4.78), परस्पेण विज्ञातस्तेषूपायनपाणिषु। राज्ञा हिमवतः सारो राज्ञः सारो हिमाद्रिणा॥ (4.79).

192. स पराध्यं गतेरशोच्यतां पितुरुद्दिश्य सदर्थवेदिभिः। शमिताधिराज्यकार्मुकः कृतवानप्रतिशासनं जगत्॥ (8.27), अनन्यशासनामुर्वीं शशासैकपुरीमिव। (1.30).

193. पातुं सहो विश्वसखः समग्रां विश्वंभरामात्मजमूर्त्तिरात्मा। (18.24).

194. The poet says that the whole world was his empire. It is thus, that, very often the empire is indicated by the word जगत् and its पर्याय s. This is simple poetic exaggeration. Cf. (18.4), (8.27).

195. Cf. (especially) the conquests of रघु, who seems historically to have founded the great rule of the *Raghuvaṁśins*. We find in the Fourth Canto an elaborate and beautiful description of these conquests.

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maintenance which were the permanent duties of the king.[196]

The king had a great[197] army consisting of the infantry,[198] fighters on the chariots,[199] the elephants[200] and the horses.[201] (Cf. the concept of *caturvibhāgā vāhinī* or a four-fold army). The warriors mostly fought with bows,[202] swords,[203] spears,[204] maces,[205] discs,[206] missiles,[207] armours[208] and wonderful, divine and supernatural weapons like the *gārutmat,*[209] *aindra,*[210] *kārṣṇa,*[211] *vāyayya,*[212] *brāhma*[213] and

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196. पित्रा संवर्धितो नित्यं कृतास्त्रः सांपरायिकः। तस्य दण्डवतो दण्डः स्वदेहान्न व्यशिष्यत॥ (17.62).

197. स सेनां महतीं कर्षन्पूर्वसागरगामिनीम्। बभौ हरजटाभ्रष्टां गंगामिव भगीरथः॥ (4.32).

198. पत्तिः। (7.37).

199. रथेशः। (7.37), (5.27), (7.39), (7.41), (7.44), (9.10).

200. विनीतनागः किल सूत्रकारैः। (6.27), (7.37), (7.46), (9.10).

201. तुरंगसादी। (7.37), (7.39), (7.47), (3.51), (18.23).

202. धनुष्यमोघं समधत्त सायकम्। (3.53), (3.57), (9.61), (9.12), (7.38); those guided by mere sound and not the object. Cf. (9.73).

203. खड्गहृतोत्तमांगः। (7.51), (7.56).

204. भल्लः। (4.63), (7.58), (9.66).

205. गदाव्यायतसंप्रहारौ। (7.52).

206. Disc was a sharp circular weapon : शिरांसि चक्रैर्निशितैः क्षुराग्रैः....पेतुः। (7.46).

207. अयःसंकुचितां रक्षःशतघ्नीमथ शत्रवे। हृतां वैवस्वतस्येव कूटशाल्मलिमक्षिपत्॥ (12.95). Cf. शतघ्नी च चतुस्ताला लोहकण्टकसञ्चिता. According to some it was a sort of rocket (विमान s being in use q. v. f.n. 220 below).

208. वर्मभृताम्। (7.48), (7.56).

209. गारुत्मतं .....समाददेऽस्त्रम्। (16.77).

210. ऐन्द्रमस्त्रमुपादाय स ताडितः। (15.22).

211. कार्ष्णेन पत्रिणा शत्रुः स भिन्नहृदयः पतन्। (15.24).

212. सोऽस्त्रमुग्रजवमस्त्रकोविदः संदधे धनुषि वायुदैवतम्। (11.28).

213. अमोघं संदधे.....ब्राह्ममस्त्रम्। (12.97).

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gāndharva.[214] The fight also covered the air.[215] Fortification[216] was compulsory. The soldiers were skilled in the science of arms and throwing missiles.

War was a great pastime for kings and winning them also enhanced their prestige. This is why, the *Raghuvaṁśa* is full of vivid and manifold descriptions of wars. The *Raghuvaṁśin* kings were great warriors[217] and always headed[218] their army in the battlefield. All this can be illustrated from the Fourth Canto of *Raghuvaṁśa*[219] alone.

The army was also a readily employable obedient branch of administration for transforming deserts into fertile lands (which would not suffer from water-scarcity), for making rivers navigable and easy to cross over (by providing bridges), and for clearing dense forests.[220]

XI. STATESMANSHIP

We have already seen how the king organised and sustained his internal administration tactfully and effectively by regularly attending to his duties,[221] by always acting

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214. संमोहनं नाम सखे ममास्त्रं प्रयोगसंहारविभक्तमन्त्रम्। गान्धर्वमादत्स्व यतः प्रयोक्तुर्न चारिहिंसा विजयश्च हस्ते ॥ (5.57).

215. स प्रतस्थेऽरिनाशाय हरिसैन्यैरनुद्रुतः। न केवलं भुवः पृष्ठे व्योम्नि संबाधवर्त्मभिः॥ (12.67). Air cars were known: (1.75), (12.104), (13.76), (13.68), (13.69). A view of the earth and its various objects falling on the way below—from the विमान Cf. (13.1) to (13.68). Also a rider could start and terminate his air travel at will: Cf. (13.68).

216. दुर्गाणि दुर्ग्रहाण्यासँस्तस्य रोद्धुरपि द्विषाम्। न हि सिंहो गजास्कन्दी भयाद्गिरिगुहाशयः॥ (17.52).

217. सेना परिच्छदस्तस्य। (1.27), स्वहस्तार्जितवीरशब्दः। (2.68)

218. अनीकिनीनां समरेऽग्रयायी। (18 10).

219. (4.24) to (4.85), (7.31) to (7.71).

220. मरुपृष्ठान्युदम्भांसि नाव्याः सुप्रतरा नदीः। विपिनानि प्रकाशानि शक्तिमत्त्वाच्चकार सः॥ (4.31).

221. स पौरकार्याणि समीक्ष्य काले। (14.24).

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according to the established rules of righteous conduct (*śāstravidhis*)[222] befitting a king, by duly recognising and honouring the dictates of public opinion,[223] and by inspiring good discipline and morals among the masses.[224]

As a powerful[225] administrator, his paramount resources were high impressiveness (*prabhāva*), heroic perseverance (*utsāha*) and deliberation or consultation (*mantraṇā*). The former two alone could enable the independent statesman (i.e., the king) to plan and fully execute the tasks facing him in a spirit of dedication and service to the people. Moreover, success in all great and small matters depends on wide thinking and comprehensive outlook, for which good counsel is of great value. The king had worthy intellectuals and able administrators in his Assembly of Ministers with whom he always discussed things.[226]

But, like all statesmen, his intentions and considerations were not known[227] to anyone until he was satisfied that the opportune moment had come to divulge them. He had equally balanced notion of following all the four ends of

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222. See f.n. 143 above.

223. तामेकभार्यां परिवादभीरोः साध्वीमपि त्यक्तवतो नृपस्य। (14.86).

224. यमवतामवतां च धुरि स्थितः। (9.1), विनिनीषुः..... प्रजाः। (9.18), रेखामात्रमपि क्षुण्णादामनोर्वर्त्मनः परम्। न व्यतीयुः प्रजास्तस्य नियन्तुर्नेमवृत्तयः॥ (1.17).

225. त्रिसाधना शक्तिः। (3.13), प्रियतमाभिरसौ तिसृभिर्बभौ तिसृभिरेव भुवं सह शक्तिभिः। उपगतो विनिनीषुरिव प्रजा हरिहयोऽरिहयोगविक्षणः॥ (9.18), सर्पस्येव शिरोरत्नं नास्य शक्तित्रयं परः। स चकर्ष परस्मात्तदयस्कान्त इवायसम्॥ (17.63). The three powers are said to be प्रभाव, उत्साह and मन्त्रणा.

226. मन्त्रः प्रतिदिनं तस्य बभूव सह मन्त्रिभिः। स जातु सेव्यमानोऽपि गुप्तद्वारो न सूच्यते॥ ((17.50).

227. *Ibid*, तस्य संवृतमन्त्रस्य गूढाकारेंगितस्य च। फलानुमेयाः प्रारम्भाः संस्काराः प्राक्तना इव॥ (1.20).

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life.[228] Though fearless, he cared for his personal safety.[229] He could peep into the men's nature and evaluate their intrinsic worth.[230] As such, this knowledge of men must have been useful to him in appointing officers to responsible posts.

The king knew that the use of force or valour must be associated with wisdom and tact.[231] And he acted, therefore, with an insight into the soul and purpose of things.[232] He was neither too mild nor too severe in his relations with others.[233] In order to bring the erring or the revolting persons under his authority, he used the four-fold policy viz., *the policy of conciliation, that of making gifts, that of inflicting punishments,* and *that of striking terror*. This four-fold policy (*rājanīti*) was an expedient for overcoming an enemy tactfully.[234]

Those kings who did not obey him, were at the mercy[235] of the *Raghuvaṁśin's* disposal and very often he subdued

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228. धर्मार्थकामेषु समां प्रपेदे यथा। (14.21).

229. जुगोपात्मानमत्रस्तः। (1.21), तद्रक्ष कल्याणपरम्पराणां भोक्तारमूर्जस्वलमात्मदेहम्। (2.50).

230. अन्तरज्ञः पुंसाम्। (18.15).

231. कातर्यं केवला नीतिः शौर्यं श्वापदचेष्टितम्। अतः सिद्धिं समेताभ्यामुभाभ्यामन्वियेष सः॥ (17.47).

232. चक्षुष्मत्ता तु शास्त्रेण सूक्ष्मकार्यार्थदर्शिना। (4.13).

233. न खरो न च भूयसा मृदुः पवमानः पृथिवीरुहानिव। स पुरस्कृतमध्यमक्रमो नमयामास नृपानुद्धरन्॥ (8.9). Cf. मृदुश्चेदवमन्येत तीक्ष्णादुद्विजते जनः। तीक्ष्णश्चैव मृदुश्चैव प्रजानां स च सम्मतः॥ (कामन्दकनीति०)।

234. इति क्रमात्प्रयुञ्जानो राजनीतिं चतुर्विधाम्। आतीर्थादप्रतीघातं स तस्याः फलमानशे॥(17.68), गुरोः स चानन्तरमन्तरज्ञः पुंसां पुमानाद्य इवावतीर्णः। उपक्रमैश्चतुर्भिः चतुर्दिगीशश्चतुरो बभूव॥(18.15).

235. निववृते स महार्णवरोधसः सचिवकारितबालसुताञ्जलीन्। समनुकम्प्य सपत्नपरिग्रहाननलकानलकानवमां पुरीम्॥ (9.14).

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them with his superior might.[236] On the other hand, he became a sincere friend of those that did not defy his rule,[237] and sought his favour.[238] When *Vibhīṣaṇa* came to the *Raghuvaṁśin Rāma,* full of humility and submission, he was promised the kingdom of *Laṁkā*[239] and this act of deep foresight acquired him a friend in need. Similarly, when the lord of serpents, *Kumuda,* whose life was endangered by *Kuśa's* stringed bow, made a gift of his daughter to him,[240] the *Raghuvaṁśin* accepted it only to befriend all serpents who thence did not trouble his subjects.[241]

He always observed his friendship solemnly[242] and preserved cordial foreign relations.[243] His agreements were

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236. त्रैलोक्यनाथप्रभवं प्रभावात्कुशं द्विषामंकुशमस्त्रविद्वान्। मानोन्नतेनाप्यभिवन्द्य मूर्ध्ना मूर्धाभिषिक्तं कुमुदो बभाषे ।। (16.81), उदयमस्तमयं च रघूद्वहादुभयमानशिरे वसुधाधिपाः। स हि निदेशमलंघ्यतामभूत्सुहृदयोहृदयः प्रतिगर्जताम् ।। (9.9), संनमतामरीणाम्। (18.34).

237. दूरापवर्जितच्छत्रैस्तस्याज्ञां शासनार्पिताम्। दधुः शिरोभिर्भूपाला देवाः पौरंदरीमिव ।। (17.79), (9.9).

238. कामरूपेश्वरस्तस्य हेमपीठाधिदेवताम्। रत्नपुष्पोपहारेण छायामानर्च पादयोः ।। (4.84), ते रेखाध्वजकुलिशातपत्रं चिह्नं सम्राजश्चरणयुगं प्रसादलभ्यम्। प्रस्थानप्रणितिभिरंगुलीषु चक्रुर्मौलिस्रक्च्युतमकरन्दरेणुगौरम् ।। (4.88), चरणयोर्नखरागसमृद्धिभिर्मुकुटरत्नमरीचिभिरस्पृशन्। नृपतयः शतशो मरुतो यथा शतमखं तमखण्डितपौरुषम् ।। (9.13).

239. निविष्टमुदधेः कूले तं प्रपेदे विभीषणः। स्नेहाद्राक्षसलक्ष्म्येव बुद्धिमाविश्य चोदितः ।। (17.68), तस्मै निशाचरैश्वर्यं प्रतिशुश्राव राघवः। काले खलु समारब्धाः फलं बध्नन्ति नीतयः ।। (17.69).

240. इमां स्वसारं च यवीयसीं मे कुमुद्वतीं नार्हसि नानुमन्तुम्। आत्मापराधं नुदतीं चिराय शुश्रूषया पार्थिव पादयोस्ते ।। (16.85).

241. इति नागस्त्रिभुवनगुरोरौरसं मैथिलेयं लब्ध्वा बन्धुं तमपि च कुशः पञ्चमं तक्षकस्य। एकः शंका पितृवधरिपोरत्यजद्वैनतेयाच्छान्तव्यालामवनिमपरः शशास ।। (16.88).

242. तयोस्तस्मिन्नवीभूतपितृव्यापत्तिशोकयोः। पितरीवाग्निसंस्कारात्परा ववृतिरे क्रियाः ।। (12.56).

243. अथेतरे सप्त रघुप्रवीरा ज्येष्ठं पुरोजन्मतया गुणैश्च। चक्रुः कुशं रत्नविशेषभाजं सौभ्रात्रमेषां हि कुलानुसारि ।। (16.1), दुर्जातबन्धुरयमृक्षहरीश्वरो मे

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always faithfully[244] implemented by him. For friends he could sacrifice anything. In all possible manners[245] he would help them and they too in their turn did not leave an stone unturned in their friend's trial.[246] But then, he established friendship only with his equals[247] and neither with inferiors[248] who could not do him any good[249] nor superior men of strength and quality who could if they chose harm him.[250]

In wars, he did not fail to take the full advantage of the weak position of his adversaries,[251] and yet, by sheer valour he could defeat the enemy straightway.[252] Before declaring a war he duly considered his and his opponent's might and the peculiar circumstances etc. Only when he found the prospects to be favourable to him, did he march with his

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पौलस्त्य एष समरेषु पुरः प्रहर्ता। इत्यादृतेन कथितौ रघुनन्दनेन व्युत्क्रम्य लक्ष्मणमुभौ भरतो ववन्दे ।। (13.72).

244. यस्मिन्नभूज्ज्यायसि सत्यसंधे संधिर्ध्रुवः संनमतामरीणाम् ।। (18.34).

245. स हत्वा बालिनं वीरस्तत्पदे चिरकांक्षिते। धातोः स्थान इवादेशं सुग्रीवं संन्यवेशयत्। (12.58).

246. तौ सीतान्वेषिणौ गृध्रं लूनपक्षमपश्यताम्। प्राणैर्दशरथप्रीतेरनृणं कण्ठवर्तिभिः ।। (12.54), स रावणहृतां ताभ्यां वचसाचष्ट मैथिलीम्। आत्मनः सुमहत्कर्म व्रणैरावेद्य संस्थितः ।। (12.55), प्रवृत्तावुपलब्धायां तस्याः संपातिदर्शनात्। मारुतिः सागरं तीर्णः संसारमिव निर्ममः ।। (12.59).

247. मुमूर्च्छ सख्यं रामस्य समानव्यसने हरौ। (12.57), तेन मध्यमशक्तीनि मित्राणि स्थापितानि। (17.58).

248. योऽहीनसंसर्गपराङ्मुखत्वाद्युवाप्यनर्थैर्व्यसनैर्विहीनः (18.14).

249. हीनान्यनुपकर्तॄणि प्रवृद्धानि विकुर्वते। तेन मध्यमशक्तीनि मित्राणि स्थापितान्यतः ।। (17.58)

250. *Ibid.*

251. अपशूलं तमासाद्य लवणं लक्ष्मणानुजः। रुरोध संमुखीनो हि जयो रन्ध्रप्रहारिणाम् ।। (15.17), परकर्मापहः सोऽभूदुद्यतः स्वेषु कर्मसु। आवृणोदात्मनो रन्ध्रं रन्ध्रेषु प्रहरन्रिपून् ।। (17.61).

252. कूटयुद्धविधिज्ञेऽपि तस्मिन्सन्मार्गयोधिनि। भेजेऽभिसारिकावृत्तिं जयश्रीर्वीरगामिनी ।। (17.69).

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army. Otherwise, he would deliberately engage himself in launching efforts for peace.[253]

In times of peace the international borders were respected by the *Raghuaṁśins*.[254] Royal visitors from other countries were always accorded a high welcome, which was so warm, sincere and enthusiastic that it appeared as if the visitor was the real head of the host government and their people.[255]

Thus, the king besides being the real leader of the people was also an able statesman and a successful diplomat. He knew how to use his policies to suit his ends.[256]

XII. CONCLUSION

The excellent administration, absolute protection from external attacks, justice, charity, moral and political authority, international reputation, intimacy with and regard for the public, and dedication to the country's welfare and prosperity were some of the most salient features of the kingship under the *Raghuvaṁśins*. The remarkable achieve-

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253. परात्मनोः परिच्छिद्य शक्त्यादीनां बलाबलम् । ययावेभिर्बलिष्ठश्चेत्परस्मादात सोऽन्यथा ।। (17.59) Cf. यदा मन्येत भावेन हृष्टं पुष्टं बलं स्वकम् । परस्य विपरीतं च तदा यायादरीन्प्रति ।। यदा तु स्यात्परिक्षीणो वाहनेन बलेन च । तदासीत प्रयत्नेन शनकैः सान्त्वयन्नरीन् ।। (मनु०) The six modes of foreign policy, as embodied in अमरकोष, are संधिर्ना विग्रहो यानमासनं द्वैधमाश्रयः ।

254. ते सेतुवार्तागजबन्धमुख्यैरभ्युच्छ्रिताः कर्मभिरप्यवन्ध्यैः । अन्योन्यदेशप्रविभागसीमां वेलां समुद्रा इव न व्यतीयुः ।। (16.2).

255. तं तस्थिवांसं नगरोपकण्ठे तदागमारूढगुरुप्रहर्षः । प्रत्युज्जगाम कथकैशिकेन्द्रश्चन्द्रं प्रवृद्धोर्मिरिवोर्मिमाली ।। (5.61), प्रवेश्य चैनं पुरमग्रयायी नीचैस्तथोपाचरदर्पितश्रीः । मेने यथा तत्र जनः समेतो वैदर्भमागन्तुमजं गृहेशम् ।। (5.62), इति स्वसुर्भोजकुलप्रदीपः संपाद्य पाणिग्रहणं स राजा । महीपतीनां पृथगर्हणार्थं समादिदेशाधिकृतानधिश्रीः ।। (7.29).

256. स गुणानां बलानां च षण्णां षण्मुखविक्रमः । बभूव विनियोगज्ञः साधनीयेषु वस्तुषु ।। (17.67).

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ments of this kingship lay in the upholding of the democratic rights of the people, the high standard of statesmanship reached and the prevalent overwhelming moral and human outlook. We can say that such a kingship, as we have so far been critically evaluating, had, in practice, all the benefits of an organised democracy in a welfare state. Only in theory, did the government centre round the supreme head of the state. Under these circumstances, we can by and large identify the *Raghuvaṁśin* government as "government of the people, by the people and for the people".

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NOTE ON THE ORIGINAL HOME OF GUṆĀḌHYA

By S. NATH*

History of Indian classical literature has suffered irreplaceable loss due to the loss of *Bṛhatkathā*[1] of Guṇāḍhya, whose genius is in no way inferior to Vyāsa of Vālmiki.[2] Dr. V. S. Agrawal[3] held the view that Guṇāḍhya might have flourished if not earlier, in the first or second century A.D.

It was an important work of classical Indian literature. Poets like Subandhu,[4] Bāṇa,[5] Uddyotansuri,[6] Kṣemendra,[7] Dhanapāla,[8] Somadeva[9] etc. testify that there existed the work of Guṇāḍhya in 11th century A.D. Besides these ancient literary sources, mention may be made of certain significant epigraphic evidences of copper plate of Kollar,[10] Kambuj inscription of 9th century, Kambuj inscription[11]

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1. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature.*

2. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature,* Vol. III, Part I, p. 346.

3. Dr. Agrawal, V. S., Introduction of Bihar Rastra Bhasha Patna edition of the *K. S. S.,* Vol. I, p. 13.

4. वृहत्कथालम्बैरिव शालभञ्जिकानिवहै:
—वासवदत्ता (५०० ई०)

5. समुद्दीपितकन्दर्पा कृतगौरीप्रसाधना।
हरलीलेव लोकस्य विस्मयाय बृहत्कथा॥ (६०० ई०)

6. Uddyotan Suri, *Kuvalaya Mal Kaha,* p. 3, Line 22 (779 A.D.).

7 Kṣemendra's *Kāvyānuśāsana Adhyāya*-8, Sukt. 8.

8. सत्यं वृहत्कथाम्भोधेर्बिन्दुमादाय संस्कृता।
तेनेतरकथाकन्थाः प्रतिभान्ति तदग्रत:॥ (तिलकमंजरी ११०० ई०)

9. *Kathāsaritsāgara,* 1-3 and Praśasti.

10. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department,* 1912, pp. 35–69; *Indian Antiquary,* 42/204; *JRAS,* 913, 389.

11. S. Levi, *J. A.* 1885.

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of Mahārāja Yaśovarman mentions Guṇāḍhya as "a friend of the Prākṛit Language." For strong literary tradition the very existence of Guṇāḍhya is unquestioned, but due to the loss of *Bṛhatkathā*, nothing about him can be said with any amount of certainity, therefore a colourful network of myths and legends have surrounded his name. However, in the present paper an attempt has been made by the author to identify the original home of the poet Guṇāḍhya, whose personality is highly wrapped in oblivion.

Recently Dr. V. V. Mirashi.[12] has expressed his view that the original home of Guṇāḍhya was in *Pratiṣṭhāna* (modern Paiṭhāna in the Bombay State). But after a close study of the available sources it appears that the opinion of Dr. Mirashi is no doubt thought-provoking but due to the paucity of favourable facts, it cannot be accepted. He observes that the works derived from the *Bṛhatkathā* was not based on the original text of the *Bṛhatkathā*. The *Bṛhatkathā mañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[13] (K. S. S.) were the Kashmiri versions of the *Bṛhatkathā*. These texts were derived from the original text of the *Bṛhatkathā* as it is evident from the internal evidence of the text and above all they off and on, refer their high indebtedness to the original *Bṛhatkathā*. However, *Brihatkathāmañjarī* is silent in this regard. It is erroneous to presume that the works derived from it had no genetic connection with the original *Bṛhatkatha*. Derived works of the *Bṛhatkathā* throw considerable significant light on the obscure problem of the original home of Guṇāḍhya in a rather integrated manner. Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* (1063—1081 A.D.) in this connection deserves special mention. It describes the poet Guṇāḍhya as a native of certain city named *Supratiṣṭhita*. The location of Supratiṣṭhita is highly in dispute. From the K. S. S. it is quite clear that Guṇāḍhya was born in the vicinity of the city *Supratiṣṭhita*[14] which was the part of Pratiṣṭhāna region.[15]

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12. Dr. Mirashi, V. V., *'Studies in Indology'* (Vol. I) ; *Oriental Thought*, Vol. I, p. 41.

13. *K. S. S.*, 1—3 and Praśasti.

14. *Ibid.*, 1—65.

15. *Ibid.*, 6—8.

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Dr. Mirashi has recently opined elsewhere[16] that present Paithana was comprised of the old Pratiṣṭhāna (in the Bombay State) but due to the lack of favourable evidence, his view cannot be accepted. In defence of his view he has given certain illustrations of Copper plate Grants[17] where the term Supratiṣṭhita has occurred as a village. In the K. S. S.[18] it is mentioned like a well established city and not as a village. Probably there was one different Pratiṣṭhāna on the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, situated in the neighbourhood of Kauśāmbi[19] and that was the actual home of the Poet Guṇāḍhya since the geography of the *Bṛhatakathā* does not point to the South in any way, but to the neighbourhood of Kauśāmbi. In the Vana Parva of the *Mahābhārata*[20] four minor places of pilgrimage have been mentioned. Pratiṣṭhāna is one of them. Ancient Pratiṣṭhāna was possibly modern Jhusi.[21] This Pratiṣṭhāna was situated east from the river Gaṅgā. The extension of Prayag has been described by the author of the *Matsya Purāṇa* in a very interesting manner.[22] According to the Puranas Pratiṣṭhāna comprised the eastern limit of the Prayāga-Maṇḍala. It was situated on the eastern bank of the river Gaṅga. Now-a-days it is well-known as Jhusi, which was also called Samudra Kūpa.[23] It was a significant minor Tīrtha.[24] According to the *Matsya Purāṇa* the Haṁsa Prapattana was situated north from Pratiṣṭhāna and east from the river Gaṅgā. This tirtha indicates from where Swans after returning from the mountain Himalaya used

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16. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
17. *E. I.* XV, pp. 39 ff.
18. *K. S. S.*, 1–65, 6–8.
19. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 348.
20. *Mahābhārata*, 85–76.
21. Dr. Roy, U. N., *Prācīna Bhārata Mẽ Nagara Tathā Nagara-Jīwana*, p. 107.
22. *Matsya Purāna*, 1, 45, 10, p. 183.
23. Dr. Roy, U. N., *op. cit.*, p. 100.
24. Dr. Agrawal; V. S., *Matsya Purāṇa* : *A Study*, p. 183, M. P. 106, 3. *Ibid.*, 106-32.

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to reside.[25] Ūrvaśi Ramana was that place where according to our legends, king Purūrava intercoursed with Ūrvaśi, a heavenly damisel. It was probably east from the Pratiṣṭhāna.

It is amply clear from the K. S. S. that Supratiṣṭhita was a city of Pratiṣṭāna and it may be rightly identified with the present locus of Jhūsī[26] (in modern Allahabad of U.P.). It is 30 miles from the well-known historical city of Kauśāmbi. The chief story of the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* which is derived from *Bṛhatakatha* of Guṇāḍhya, deals with the kings of Kauśāmbi. It also corroborates, that Guṇāḍhya's original home was Jhūsī (ancient Pratiṣṭhāna). Dr. Grierson[27] the greatest authority on linguistics, is of the opinion that the paiśāchī, in which the original Bṛhatakathā was perhaps written, was a language which was spoken in the Vindhyan region and North-West frontier, which is not far away from Jhūsī. This fact that the Paiśāchi Language was popular in the same vicinity where Guṇāḍhya was brought up also strengthens our position that Guṇāḍhya's ancestral home was a Pratiṣṭhāna represented by modern Jhūsī in Allahabad district of Uttar Pradesh.

25. Dr. Agrawal, V. S., *Matsya Purāṇa*: *A Study,* p. 182.

26. Dr. U. N. Roy, *op. cit.,* p. 107.

27. Foreword of the paper "Essai Sur Guṇāḍhya Et La *Brihatkathā*" by Prof. Felix Lacot. Translated by Tabard in English. *The Mythic Journal,* Vol. IV, pp. 26 ff.

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THE ALLAHABAD HIGH COURT AND THE *MITĀKṢARĀ*

By YUDHISHTHIRA*

Limitations of space enable me to notice only some of the notable contributions during the first few years out of its one hundred years interpretation and application of the *Mitākṣarā*. The scope has not only been limited as to the period of survey, but also as to the subjects to be noticed.

2. Reported cases do not indicate any period of infancy, but all of mature wisdom and far-sightedness. There was no hesitation in engrafting, from time to time, new propositions not repugnant to the existing systems of Hindu Law. As observed by Cowell,

> "The Hindu law system is not and does not profess to be exhaustive; on the contrary, it is a system in which new systems and new propositions not repugnant to the old law, may be engrafted upon from time to time, according to circumstances and progress of society."[1]

स्मृत्योर्विरोधे न्यायस्तु बलवान व्यवहारतः ।
अर्थशास्त्रात्तु बलबद्धर्मशास्त्रमिति स्थितः ॥[2]

(If there was conflict between two *Smritis,* equity should supersede the law, the rule being that religious code is superior to a legal code).

केवलं शास्त्रमूलमें नः कर्त्तव्योही निर्णयः
युक्तिहीन विचारि तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते ।[3]

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1. T. L. L., 1871, at p. 256.

2. याज्ञ० २, २१

3. *Brihaspati as quoted in Vyavahar niraaya.*

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(A decision should not be based only on the *sastras*. By an inequitable judgment, there is a permanent loss of dharma.[4])

Equity (युक्ति) and justice, (न्याय धर्म), as a residual source of law stood long recognised in this country.

4. The contributions of this Court on questions on which either there was conflict of opinion in the *Mitākṣarā* itself or, where it was silent or, had laid only a moral instead of a legal rule, is noticeable in more than one respect. They continue to be good law today even after one hundred years. One belonging to this Court can justifiably be proud of that. It is remarkable that without all the modern aids to interpretation they could be what they have been.

5. Take the subject of Inheritance (दाय); it is defined by the *Mitākṣarā* as follows :

दायशब्देन यद्धनं स्वामिसम्बन्धादेव निमित्तादन्य स्वं भवति तदुच्यते ।। दा० प्र० ।।

(The wealth which becomes the property of another solely by reason of kinship to the owner is called द ाय).

The use of the term "solely" (एव) excludes property coming by gift or sale.

6. *Mitākṣarā* classifies inheritance into two classes--unobstructed and obstructed (अप्रतिबन्धदाय and सप्रतिबन्धदाय) :

पुत्राणां पौत्राणां च पुत्रत्वेन पौत्रत्वेन च पितृधनं पितामहधनं च स्वं भवतीत्य-प्रतिबन्धोदायः। पितृव्यभ्रात्रादीनां तु पुत्राभाव स्वाम्यभावे च स्व भवनीति पुत्रसद्-भावः स्वामिसद्भावश्च प्रतिबन्धस्तद्भावे पितृव्यत्वेन च स्वं भवतीति सप्रतिबन्धदायः। भागोपयोगी स्वत्व

7. Neither class of the above heritage is limited to any particular kind of property.

9. "Although property arises by birth in paternal as well as grand-paternal (ancestral) estate we shall mention a distinctive peculiarity in dealing with the text, 'land acquir-

4. Quoted from *Peramnayakam* versus *Sivaraman*, (1952) 1 M. L. J. 308, F. B. at p. 386.

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ed by grand-father, etc.' the pecularity being that in regard to property derived from grand-father, the father's right of free alienation is restrained by the co-equal co-ownership of the son, while in regard to properties acquired by the father himself, the son has no right to object to the father's alienation, but must acquiesce therein."[5]

This subjects the father to the control of his son in regard to ancestral estate consisting of land only.

9. There is an earlier passage which speaks thus : "the father is subject to the control of his sons and the rest in regard to immovable estate, whether acquired by himself or inherited by his father or other predecessors since it is ordained."[6]

10. In regard to alienation, it is said : "though immovable and bipeds have been acquired by a man himself, a gift or sale of them should not be made without convening all the sons. They who are born, and they who are yet unbegotten, and they who are still in the womb require the means of support, no gift or sale should therefore be made."[7]

This permits alienation of immovable and moveable boths, but conditionally.

11. Now, the question arises if a father has sold land without authority, can the son eject the purchaser? Which text out of the above is to be followed? This question actually arose is this Court and was referred to a Full Bench in the case of *Baboo Ram* versus *Gajadhur Singh* [1867, Agra H.C. F.B.R. 86]. The Full Bench returned the answer that during the life-time of the father the son could not sue to eject the purchaser.

12. What about property inherited through obstructed heritance—is it the absolute and separate property of the person inheriting it? Which of the above texts should

5. *Mit.*, quoted from *Hin. Juris.*, T. L. L. 130.
6. *Mit.*, quoted from *Hin. Juris.*, T. L. L. 132.
7. *Mit.*, Ch. I, see I, 27.

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prevail. This Court[8] in a special appeal, held that it was the absolute and separate property and a son could not control his father's act in respect of it.

13. The doctrine of survivorship in respect of ancestral property has flowed from the co-equal co-ownership of the son with the father. It is, however, subject to the rule that male issues of a deceased coparcener "are declared to be the heirs of the shares of the respective fathers."[9] Besides there is also the rule of preference, nearest excluding the more remote. The question is whether by mutual agreement the course of inheritance prescribed by the above rules could be altered. A Bench of this Court,[10] answered it in the affirmative.

14. Although in this case the question whether an immediate reversioner could also disclaim was not raised, the principle for decision of this question also could be seen. However, in a later case *Gooshaen Teekumjee* versus *Pursotum Lal Jee,* (1868) 3 Agra 238, a Bench of this Court (Morgan, C. J. and Bose J.), recognised that there could be a disclaimer by the immediate reversioners of their rights.

15. Can reversioners distant in succession challenge an alienation when reversioners nearer in succession are present? The rule of preference will decide the question of succession, only if there is some property to be succeeded to, but not the right to recover by suit the property alienated. This difficult question was answered by a Full Bench in this Court in the case of *Dowar Rai* versus *Boonda* (*Mussumut*), (1866) N. W. P. F. B. R. 56, in the affirmative.

16. Partition (severence of co-ownership) is known to *Mitākṣarā.*[11] Unequal division by the father is disapproved,

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8. Roberts and Pearson, JJ., in the case of *Jawahir Singh* versus *Guyan Singh,* (1967) 3 N. W. P. H. C. 78.

9. *Brih.* XPV, 14, cited in Mayne, 11th ed., 523.

10. Morgan, C. J. and Pearson, J.), in the case of *Meherban Singh* versus *Sheo Koonwor* (*Mussumut*), (1866) 1 N. W. P. H. C. 106.

11. See Ch. I, sec. 1, 41.

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since sons are co-equal co-owners with their father. This Court (Turner and Spankie, JJ.) extended this principle to wills and gave it a legal force in the case of *Buldeo Singh* versus *Mahabeer Singh,* (1866) I. N. W. P. H. C. 155, by holding that there was no right of unequal disposal by will of an interest in the coparcenary property.

17. "Hindu Law does not recognise the existence of qualified ownership or property, and the restriction upon the right of free disposal may even go as far as almost to deprive the owner of his right of alienating the property according to his choice."[12] This kind of property, where the right is limited to the enjoyment of usufruct only without prejudicing the corpus is said to be भोगोपयोगी स्वत्व ।

18. If, however a widow in possession of her husband's property, acts in a way destructive or detrimental to the corpus, there ought to be some method of preventing her. In *Jwala Nath* versus *Kulloo,* (1868)[13] a Full Court of six Judges (Morgan, C. J., Ross, Roberts, Pearson, Turner and Spankie, JJ.) recognised the power of court to disposses the widow or other female restricted owner and appoint a receiver in suitable cases where corpus was threatened in order to protect the reversion.

19. Neither the corpus nor the usufruct belongs *in presenti* to the immediate reversioners so long as the widow is alive. At most they have only a chance of succeeding but no right of suit. Such an objection was actually raised in the case of *Golab Koonwer* (*Mussumut*) versus *Shib Sahai,* (1867)[14] and this Court (Pearson and Turner, JJ.) overruled the objection and upheld the right of the daughter to sue her mother to restrain alienation as her reversion was threatened.

20. In another case, *Udhar Singh* versus *Ramee Koonwer* (*Mussumut*), (1866)[15] the competency of a widow

12. *Hin. Juris.,* T. L. L. 49-50.
13. N. W. P. H. C. 55.
14. 2 N. W. P. H. C. 54.
15. 1 N. W. P. H. C. 234.

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to surrender her whole estate to another female immediate reversioner was upheld (Morgan, C. J. and Pearson, J.).

21. In the case of *Gunput Singh* (*Baboo*) versus *Gunga Persad*, (1867)[16] a wife had received property in partition during the life-time of her husband. A question arose whether she took absolutely or only a widow's estate. There were no express words conveying an absolute estate, and it was held (Ross and Spankie, JJ.) that she took only a widow's estate.

22. In the case of *Oomrao Singh* versus *Man Koonwer* (*Mussumut*), (1867)[17] it was held (Edwards and Turner, JJ.) that persons entitled to maintenance only were not entitled to sue for possession of the property.

23. The liability to repay debt in *Mitākṣarā* does not arise from relationship

न योषित्पति पुत्राभ्यां न पुत्रेण कृतं पिता ।
दद्यादृते कुटुम्बार्थान्न पतिः स्त्रीकृतं तथा ।। १८

(A Woman is not bound to repay the debt contracted by her husband or her sons, a father, contracted by the son, nor a husband, contracted by the wife, except when it is made for the maintenance of the family.)

सुराकामद्यूतकृतं दण्डशुल्कावशिष्टकम् ।
वृथादानं तथैवेह पुत्रोदद्यान्न पैतृकम् । १९

(A son is not to pay the debt even though hereditary, if it is contracted for the purpose of drinking, debauchery, or gambling, or if it is the residue of a fine or duty unrequited, or anything idly promised.)

25. The liability arises from inheritance.

16. 2 N. W. P. H. C. 230.

17. 2 N. W. P. H. C. 136.

18. (याज्ञ० २, ४६)

19. (याज्ञ० २, ४७) ।।

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अविभक्तैः कुटुम्वार्थे यदृणं तु कृत भवेत् ।
दद्युस्तद्रिक्थिनः प्रेते प्रोषिते वा कुटुम्बिनि ॥ २०

(A debt contracted in a joint family for maintenance of the members thereof should be repaid by the head of the family; on his death or on his departure to a foreign country, the members who inherit the property must repay it.)

रिक्थग्राहश्रृणंदाप्यो योषिद्ग्राहस्तैव च ।
पुत्रोऽनन्याश्रित द्रव्यः पुत्रहीनस्यः रिक्थिनः ॥ २१

(One who inherits the property must repay the debt. Similarly, the taker of the wife (योषिदग्राह) then the son, and in case of one who is sonless, the person who inherits the property must repay his debt.

26. A difficult question arose in the case of *Zaburdust Khan* versus *Indurmun*, (1867).[22] A son alienated property inherited from his father, who had contracted a simple debt. The question was whether the creditor of the father could claim his debt against the alienee of the son. The Full Bench ruled that the creditor had no remedy, except in certain circumstances. Those circumstances, were stated to be, where the alienation has, to the knowledge of the alienee, been made in order to avoid the debt, or with the intention of avoiding it. The remedy of the creditor in such cases was against the son or heir personally.

27. In the case of *Soorjoo Pershad* versus *Krishan Pertap* (*Rajah*), (1869)[23] this Court recognised the right of a widow to alienate property for repayment of debts. Among the various purposes of alienation, funds for maintenance or for protection or preservation of the estate, were also recognised as being necessary purposes.

28. Propositions of law that hold good even today will be readily recognised in all the above. Choice of any other

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20. (याज्ञ० १, ४५) ॥
21. (याज्ञ० २, ५१) ॥
22. Agra H. C. F. B. R. 55 (1874 ed.).
23. 1 N. W. P. H. C. 46.

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principles in those days might have confused the development and progress of the Hindu Society. That it was not done is in itself remarkable.

29. Hundred years have gone by. The propositions have come down to us without being materially affected. Hundred years have not added anything to them, have not made any difference. They have been followed by other High Courts in India and even the Privy Council has approved of them. This Court will, therefore, always occupy a very high place for these and such of its contributions to the application of the *Mitākṣarā*.

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THE NEW ERA

By PROF. ANTONY PHILIP HALAS*

For the sharp-sighted seeker after truth in the Nineteenth Century two Personalities stand eminent and rise above all others by far : The first is Lord Bulwer Lytton (1803—1873) and the second Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831—1891), the Russian Seer and prolific writer. In the 20th Century now at least until (January, 1967), the Personality which has commanded universal by respect is Mrs. Sayo Kitamura or the world-known Ogamisama, the Prophet of Tabuse, born on the 1st January, 1900.

Lord Bulwer Lytton, with his immortal novel : ZANONI, (London, May, 1845), inaugurated the New Era : he was the first to reveal to the Modern World, the existence on this Earth of "The Masters of Wisdom," i.e. those Men who have finished their evolution on this Earth and disentangled themselves from the interminable Chain or Circle of Births and Deaths and became once for all free from the chains, bondages and fetters of Prometheus Bound.

Three years after the publication of the epoch-making novel "Zanoni," on the 31st March, 1848, in Mr. J. D. Fox home, in Hydesville, New York, the Rappings, connected with the two Mediums, the Sisters Fox (Margaret and Katie) were heard : the Fox Sisters the first famous spiritual media. We mean the rappings that startled the World, and marked the Rebirth of Spiritualism at least for the Western World, as spiritualism was in daily practice in Ancient Greece, as well as in Palestine and elsewhere in Asia, as the Bible unmistakeably reveals.

In 1875, Madame H. P. Blavatsky founded with Colonel Henry Steel Olcott and Mr. William Quan Judge "The

* Athens, 22nd January, 1967.

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Theosophical Society" in New York and began proclaiming the existence of the Masters of Wisdom, and more than one of her disciples came in contact with them. The famous Lawyer Mr. W. Q. Judge, who died in 1896, has, long before his death made the following prophecy: "The Christian Nations have dazzled themselves with the baneful glitter of material progress. They are not the peoples who will furnish the clearest clues to the Path. A few short years and they will have abandoned the systems now held so dear, because their mad rush to the perfection of their civilization will give them control over now-undreamed-of forces. Then will come the moment when they must choose which of two kinds of fruit will take..."

The two World Wars followed: (1914—1918) and (1939—1945) and on the 4th of May, 1944 an extraordinary event, occurring for the first time in the annals of History took place: the Japanese Lady Sayo Kitamura had been possessed by an Entity or Spirit, claiming that He is the Absolute God, who since that day, has taken in His hands both the Religious and Political Authority of the World with a view to establishing the Reign of God on this Vale of tears and Universal Peace, as humans in their actual state of depravity, corruption and fall are not in a position by themselves both to bring peace and ameliorate themselves. To this effect He elected as His fitful Medium and Organ Mrs. Sayo Kitamura, her being a World Teacher.

We see then that "possession" is a fact, a reality in the present time, as it was of old. In the New Testament this is mentioned as a current fact. Plato in his famous Dialogue "Paedro" more than once reverts to this occurrence and this act is expressed in Greek with the words: phevoleptos, musoleptos, which mean: "possessed by Phoebus" (=Apollo, the GOD OF LIGHT, or the Godhead in Activity); and "muse-inspired." Those who are versed in the Theosophical Tenets well know that Madame H. P. Blavatsky's monumental work: *"Isis Unveild,"* was written by the Count of Saint' Germain, the Man known in History as "He who never dies;" as well as her Master-piece: *"The Secret Doctrine,"* which was written by Master Koot-Hoomi (who is

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supposed to be Pythagoras in reincarnation) and Master Morya, who both possessed her body to that effect.

Mrs. Sayo Kitamura is now well-known all over the world with the name : "Ogamisama." In her book *"The Prophet of Tabuse"* she reveals the fundamental causes, which not only brought Japan to surrender herself at discretion or unconditionally, but were the mainsprings of the destruction of both Hirosima on the 6th August, 1945 and Nagasaki three days later, i.e. on the 9th of August, 1945, by the two fatal American Atomic Bombs : as the re-appearance of Spiritualism started the world in 1848, in the 20th century these two Atomic bombs plunged the world in amazement and fear, but unfortunately did not contribute in the awakening to the detecting and discovering of the profound causes of this unprecedented punishment, except Japan, which had the privilege to be helped by Ogamisama to the realization and comprehension of these causes. And in this consists the greatest benefaction offered by Mrs. Sayo Kitamura both to her country and to the remaining mankind !

In truth, the depravity and corruption of the three pillars of Society through the ages, i.e. of the Spiritual (religion, education) Political (Administration or Civil Servants; Legislation or Jurisdiction) and Military (Army, Police) Leadership are the fundamental causes of all sorts of misery for every nation of every country through the centuries and milleniums ! This immorality, this depravity and wickedness is the mainspring of wars, bloodshed, natural punishments such as earthquakes, floods, typhoons, draughts, hurricanes, deluges and catastrophes. If there is a book in the world history capable of awakening the Reader to the realization of this fundamental fact, *"The Prophet of Tabuse"* is undoubtedly the one.

But according to Mrs. Sayo Kitamura's revelations, there is another unsuspected factor contributing to the sufferings and miseries of the human race. And this undetected, treacherous factor are the ghosts, the Shades, the Phantoms, ("manes") of the deceased, of our departed relatives, friends, forefathers, ancestors ! This primordeal factor for the first

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time in modern times is brought to light and in this consists one of the greatest benefactions of Mrs. Sayo Kitamura's teaching. And in addition "Ogamisama" gave to the world a powerful prayer averting, keeping off bad and evil influences and dissolving them. The writer of the present knows from personal experience the beneficent power of this prayer consisting in the following mantra or incantation : "*Na-myo-ho-ren-ge-kyo.*" These manes are pushing us to commit all kinds of sins, crimes, irrational and senseless acts and deeds.

Be it as it may, *The Prophet of Tabuse* is one of the most astonishing and amazing books and at the same time one of the most useful, amusing instructive and salutary works. It teaches that the Supreme Educationist is God, who using as His imperative organ TIME brings with every passing moment problems and circumstances to every man and obliges him to solve them and to choose between wrong and right, false and true. Thus man is exercised to discern what is useful for him and leading to his perfection and what is harmful; all occurrence—wars, bloodsheds, miseries, famine, climatic disturbances, calamities, diseases, fire, revolutions, accidents are the means of our awakening from our atheism, wickedness, depravity and self-complacency. All these awful events are the fruit of our wickedness, depravity, sins, irrationality.

In this century man has at his disposal more than in any other period and more than abundantly the means for his awakening from his sleep, oblivion and atheism in which his sins have plunged him : printing, means of communication, telephone, telegraph, wireless, press, radio, libraries all are richly at his disposal : If he does not profit from such an abundance of educative and awakening means, that signifies that he is completely inapt and incapable of amelioration and betterment and, therefore, that he has to be put aside and disappear in view of conceding his place to the apt one—i.e. DEATH waits for him. This fundamental truth, which derives from Ogamisama's teachings, is corroborated by Christ's dictum : "Therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. "This truth holds good in our times too, as in every age !

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Therefore, as already mentioned above : God through Time teaches Man every moment. Happy is the man and blessed who profits from every event, from every accident, from every misery, illness and pain : he gets thus additional experience which contributes to his ripeness or perfection until his final triumph, when he is able to put aside his chains, fetters, bondages ! He is for ever free, he has conquered Death, he is above Fate or Karma, the Wheel of Births and Deaths has no power then on him.

You have therefore, Reader, to thank God, Who brought to your hands *the Prophet of Tabuse,* as you will gain from it the most helpful experience, which is not easily to be found in books, as well as knowledge, which for the first time is presented to the world. In addition you will get the miraculous and thaumaturgical Prayer, which will enable you to release from their bondages the Earth-Bound Souls of your deceased relatives, neighbours, friends, ancestors. Happy is a man or a nation, who are taught by the mishaps, adversities and punishments of his fellowmen or other nations. And this is the more needed and urgent, as the Atomic Bomb overshadows every one of us like a Damoclean Sword !

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SANSKRIT TEXTS FROM THE CH'IEN-LUNG PERIOD

By Lokesh Chandra*

The first incarnation of the Lcaṅ skya Quturtu came to Peking along with Sum pa mkhan po. He attracted the Emperor's attention and was awarded the highest lama office of the Great Jasak Lama in Peking, along with a golden seal and the title of 'entirely virtuous, vastly compassionate, great teacher of the State, one whose head is anointed.' The great Living·Buddha was vested with the spiritual sway over the Chahar Mongols. The second incarnation of his illustrious line, was Rol pahi rdo rje (1717—1786) who was fortunate to come to Peking at the tender age of seven. A miracle child, he became the playmate, co-student and intimate friend of the future Emperor Ch'ien-lung. At the age of seventeen, he went on a diplomatic mission to Mgar thar which brought fresher glory to him. His vast scholarship, immense vision, and close personal relations with the Emperor bore rich fruit in the spiritual and literary world of the Mongols. He became instrumental in the revision and publication of the Mongolian Tanjur, to this day the greatest literary project of the Mongols, the pearl of their faith and learning.

As a prince, Emperor Ch'ien-lung had studied Sanskrit alongwith Lcaṅ skya Quturtu Rol pahi rdo rje. Later too, the Emperor maintained deep interests in Sanskrit philological studies, besides a study of Buddhism in his spare hours, as he himself says: 'In the leisure hours of my duties I have studied by myself the entire religion of Buddha.' The Emperor felt it imperative that the dhāraṇī-mantras should be available in correct transcription and pronunciation in all the four scripts of the realm. A dhāraṇī-mantra lost its efficacy if it was not correctly pronounced. The precise phonetic values alone lent it power.

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Moreover, his predecessor Emperor Shih-tsung had assembled a number of scholars who were busy correcting the dhāraṇīs over the years. We are further informed by him that by imperial command several redactors were commissioned to effect the entire work of abstracting, compiling and correcting the dhāraṇī under the guidance of the Imperial Preceptor Lcaṅ skya Quturtu.[1] The work was started in the 13th year of his reign, corresponding to 1749[2] A.D. Its compilation was completed by 1759 A.D., as it is clearly stated in the imperial preface which is reproduced in every volume and bears the date: 4th of the middle summer month of the regnal year (=1759 A.D.). Its printing took a long time, and it was completed as late as 1773 (Ch'ien-lung era 38).

This encyclopaedic quadrilingual collection of Sanskrit dhāraṇī-mantras is titled in four languages in an intentional sequence of: Manchu the language of the Emperor, Chinese the language of the Empire, Mongol the language of the Imperial Preceptor and editor of the work, and Tibetan the language of dharma (chos skad):

Manchu: han-i araha manju nikan monggo tanggût hergen-i kamciha amba g' anjur nomun-i uheri tarni.[3]

Chinese: yü chih man han meng-ku hsi fan ho pi ta tsang ch'üan chou.

Mongol: qaran-u bicigsen manju kitad mongrol töbed kalen qabsurarsan bügüli ganjur-un tarni.

Tibetan: rgyal pos mdzad paḥi mañdzu rgy a hor bod yig bzhi yi skad śan sbyar baḥi bkaḥ ḥgyur gyi srs tshaṅ bar bkod pa.

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1. Foreword of 1758 to Bundle I Fascicule 1.

2. The Chinese parts are so dated (Walther Heissig, Die Pekinger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache, p. 137 n. 8).

3. Transcribed after Nicholas Poppe, Leon Hurvitz, and Hidehiro Okada, Cattalogue of the Manchu-Mongol Secttion of the Toyo Bunko, p. 52 nos. 61, 62.

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All the titles point out that it is an "imperially written" work. The entire collection is divided into eight bundles (Chin. t'ao, Tib. dum bu), each of which is further subdivided into ten fasciculi (Chin. chüan, Tib. bam po). Besides, there are eight fasciculi of the index corresponding to the eight bundles. They are supplemented by six fasciculi of phonetic-cum-orthographic studies entitled T'ung wên yün t'ung, and an ālikāli.

Or the Sanskrit alphabet in Tibetan, Manchu, Mongolian and Chinese with a discussion of the method of reciting dhāraṇī-mantras.[4]

It is to be noted that the Sanskrit dhāraṇī-mantras are in transcription and they are not translations from Sanskrit into the four languages. The collection comprises 10,402 dhāraṇī-mantras and covers 451 sūras.[5] It commences with a dhāraṇī from the Śatasāhastrikā Prajñāpāramitā.

The number of fasciculi as 80 is significant. It explains the time lag of about twelve years between the completion of the work in 1759 and its publication in 1773. The decision to publish the stupendous 80 fasciculi must have been taken by Emperor Ch'ien-lung to commemorate the 80th birthday of his pious mother, Empress Dowager Hsiao-shêng. This is supported by the Emperor's preface to the phonetic-cum-orthographic studies appended to the collection that on the 80th birthday (1771 A.D.) of his mother many religious scriptures were copied. This preface is dated in his regnal year 36 corresponding to 1771 A.D. It is understandable that the rejoicings on Mother's birthday provided an opportune occasion for the publication of 80 fasciculi which entailed a tremendous effort and vast expenditure. The Emperor showered his Mother with pious

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4. Heissig, o.c., p. 137 n. 1 says that the quadrillingual collecttion is in 16 t'ao and 85 Faltbücher. Nicholas Poppe et. al. o.c., give 19 fasciculi in no. 61 and 7 fasc. in no. 62—tthe description is incomplete and does not help us to specify the relation of nos. 61 and 62.

5. Heissig, o.c., p. 137.

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gifts on her 60th, 70th and 80th birthdays : so we are informed by Hsü Sung in his Tung-ch'ao Ch'ung-yang lu wherein he lists the gifts received by her.[6] This work deserves to be translated as it would shed valuable light on literature and art of the Manchu period, and provide chronological landmarks for Mongolian, Manchurian and Tibetan studies. The importance of having a list of the presents received by the Empress Dowager can hardly be overrated, as vast sets of Buddhist statutes were sculptured and cast for her birthdays and they are the richest known sources of Buddhist iconography. In Chapter 18 of the Kuo ch'ao kung shih it is stated that on her sixtieth birthday she received a set of nine Buddhas and a complete set of Amitāyur Buddhas (18.2ab, 10 ab)... "Ten years later, on her seventieth birthday, she was presented with more Buddhas : nine sets of Amitāyur Buddhas totalling 900 statutes, nine sets of the same totalling 9,000 statutes, nine Buddhas, nine Amitāyur Buddhas, nine Buddhas, nine Amitāyur Buddhas, nine Bodhisattvas, nine fo-mu, eighteen lo-han, and nine Buddhas."[7] (18.12b—15a). Unfortunately it does not list the presents she received on her eightieth birthday. In this connection we have to remember that eminent personages were always presented with triple presents reflecting the three planes of sku 'body' or kāya, gsuṅs 'word' or vāk, and thugs 'spirit' or citta. The sacred objects are called rten gsum that is sku gsuṅs thugs reten or "supports of the physical, verbal and spiritual plane... The images, statutes or paintings, are the sku, the body, of that essence. A book is the gsuṅs rten, the voice, the word, the verbal revelation; the mc'od rten corresponds to the t'ugs, to the spiritual plane."[8] We may venture to think of the Pantheons of 300 and 360 deities and teachers to have been drawn on her 60th and 70th birthdays. According to the Mongolian chronicle Altan trike and the Imperial epilogue to Volume 226 of the Mongolian Tanjur, the translation of the Tanjur into Mon-

6. Artthur W. Hummeel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period, Vol. 1 p. 322.

7. Walter Eugene Clark, Two Lamaistic Pantheons, Vol. I pp. xxii, xiii.

8. Tucci, Tibettan Pained Scrols, Scrolls, p. 315.

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golian commenced in the lunar month of December-January, 1941-1942.[9] It corresponds to the fifteenth birthday of the Empress Mother[10] according to the lunar calendar. Thus myriads of images or paintings were done, thousands of books edited and xylographed and caityas were erected in celebration of the Empress Mother's birthday jubilees. The collection of dhāraṇī-mantras reproduced here[11] points to a fascinating investigation into the role of the Emperor's Mother, during the long reign of her great son Ch'ien-lung, in the efflorescence of the cultural trinity of art, literature, and architecture, emanating the three planes of kāya (काय). vāk (वाक्) and citta (चित्त).

9. W. Heissig, o.c., p. 85.

10. According to lunar reckoning her birthdays are as follows:

60th birthday	11 January 1752
70th birthday	20 December 1761
80th birthday	80 December 1771 (Hummel, o.c., p. 322).

11. The entire collection of dhāraṇī–manttras is being reproduced by the International Academy of Indian Cultture in 35 volumes, under the title of "Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking."

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THEORY OF THE AESTHETIC AND POETRY IN KALIDASA

By DR. RAMESHCHANDRA SUNDERJI BETAI

Unlike most of the poets of eminence in Sanskrit, Kālidāsa is a philosopher poet, a *Brahmavādin*, as he is popularly known to be. When Tagore states that his *Śākuntalam* combines earth and heaven into one,[1] and when Goethe runs in all poetic praise[2] of this greatest and the brightest star of the galaxy of Sanskrit poets, they have only partly stressed the philosophic side of the poet's works. That he has successfully blended together philosophy of this life and the life hereafter, in the most natural manner, is a fact that is just one of the secrets of his originality and therefore, of his immense popularity and greatness. Equally interesting are his conception of Poetry and his Theory of Aesthetics. It is remarkable that Kālidāsa has faithfully followed a clear theory of Aesthetic and Poetry in his works which have made Kālidāsa the great poet that he is.

A study of Aesthetics in Kālidāsa in all its details is bound to be highly interesting and an original contribution of this preceptor of the family of poets,[3] and *Vilāsa* of the goddess of Poetry,[4] not only to Sanskrit learning and criticism

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* Paper read at the Seventh Kālidāsa Samāroha, Ujjain.

1. Vide Tagore's "Inner Meaning of Śākuntala."
2. His famous words are :

   Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms
   and the fruits of its decline,
   And all by which the soul is charmed,
   enraptured, feasted, fed,
   Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself
   in one sole name combine ?
   I name Three O Śakuntalā
   and all at once is said.

3. कविकुलगुरुः ।
4. कालिदासो विलासः ।

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but also to the world knowledge of Aesthetic and Poetry may come to light. In the present paper, I shall touch upon only the salient points of his Aesthetics and the resultant theory of Poetry, both of which are very strictly followed by the poet in his works and both of which have made him the great poet that he is. Our understanding of the greatness of Kālidāsa would be much better with this, than what it has been so far. I broadly submit here the views regarding aesthetic and poetry from the study that I am carrying out on the topic since some time.

Aesthetics developed with the Rasa Theory of Bharata

Kālidāsa's were the days in which Sanskrit Poetics had not developed as an independent Śāstra[5] and when Kālidāsa wrote his works, the theory of Poetry in Sanskrit was in its infancy. Not so the theory of Aesthetics that finds a tolerably good development in the Rasa theory and the theory of Drama in Bharata's *Nāṭya-Śāstra.* Bharata is our first known author and critic on theories of beauty and Poetry. No doubt, Kālidāsa is well inspired by this theory and he refers to Bharata in glorifying terms in his *Vikramorvaśīya.* But the conception that he has followed is new and original. It helps us in proving the view that great poets (*Mahākavis*) are great because they normally frame their own conceptions of beauty and poetry and follow them in their works. It would be possible to study and derive the conception of beauty and poetry of great poets from their several statements and treatment in their work. Sometimes they even make direct statements as we have them in the works of Bhāravi[7] and

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5. Since Kālidāsa flourished in the 1st century B.C. he is much earlier than Bhāmaha and Vāmana with whom the Śāstra of Sanskrit Poetics develops. (This is the author's view—*Ed.*).

6. Verse 2–18.

7. स सौष्ठवौदार्यविशेषशालिनीं
विनिश्चितार्थामिति वाचमाददे।
अपि वागधिपस्य दुर्वचं वचनं तद्विदधीत विस्मयम्।

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Bhavabhūti.[8] If we were to try to derive Kālidāsa's theory of beauty from his works, it would, in a very broad outline come to this :

Kālidāsa's Theory of the Aesthetics

Kālidāsa's theory will have to be understood stage by stage as follows :

(1) Seeker after Beauty.
(2) External Charms.
(3) External reveals the Internal.
(4) The Philosophic Side.
(5) The Trio.
(6) Beauty and Naturalness.

We may now develop these in detail :

(1) *Seeker after Beauty*

By nature Kālidāsa is a seeker after beauty in nature as in human life,[9] in variegated natural objects as in men and women of the world. To him naturally, as a great poet, if there is no beauty in nature and in life, there is nothing worthy of interest. All our interest in nature and life, our thirst for the joys of life, is entirely due to the beauty inherent in them.[10] The charm of nature and life is thus centred in their beauty. It is, therefore, natural that man is attracted towards, loves and cherishes beauty. To Kālidāsa, love of a flower, or a tender creeper, or a fine animal or a youthful budding woman, is entirely due to the beauty

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8. यत्प्रौढित्वमुदारता च वचसां, यच्चार्थतो गौरवम् ।
ऋषीणां पुनराद्यानां वाचमर्थोऽनुधावति । and
विन्देम देवतां वाचममृतामात्मनः कलाम् ।

9. That is the reason why Nature and human nature stand as a unity in all his works.

10. आकृतिविशेषष्वादरः पदं करोति । आकृतिविशेषप्रत्ययादेनाम- नूनवस्तुकां संभावयामि । *Malavikā.*

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inherent in them. To Kālidāsa, beauty is the very truth of an object, be it in nature or in human life. To this visionary poet, life is full of interest and love because of its interest and charms. Beauty is the very reality of life in all its aspects.[11] A really great poet is therefore one who is the seeker of this beauty, in which lies the very reality of life. To Kālidāsa, life and beauty are more or less synonymous terms.[12]

(2) *External Charms*

Since Kālidāsa is a seeker after beauty and the first vision of beauty is normally in the external charms of an object, it is natural that the poet should be attracted by and enamoured of external charms. He would expect all his flowers, plants, heavenly objects, mountains, animals, men and women to be externally full of charm and beauty. The delicate and charming in nature immediately wins the admiration of this great poet. All the heroines are beauties *par excellence* and all his heroes are handsome, lustrous and impressive. Kālidāsa would find nothing unusual or unnatural in describing or being pleased by or being attracted towards external charms. He would surely not find fault with Duṣyanta or Purūravas if they fall in love with Śakuntalā and Ūrvaśi firstly only due to their external charms and also ravishing, maddening beauty.[13] Even when he describes the magnonimous gorgeousness of the Himālayas or Lord Śiva in meditation, he will not fail to lay down in the clearest terms, the charms and beauty that they possess. Naturally, therefore, the keen and unstinted desire to enjoy the beauties is natural and Kālidāsa would not find fault with his heroes, much less the heroines, if they become highly impatient to enjoy the beauties of their beloveds. But it can immediately be seen in almost all the cases that the desire is genuine and speaks of the higher aesthetic

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11. न खल्वस्याः प्रतिच्छन्दात्परिहीयते मधुरता । *Mālavikā.* and अथवा चन्द्रादमृतमितिकिमत्राश्चर्यम् । *Vikr.*

12. He is, therefore, known to establish his conception of beauty through pictures of life.

13. Vide *Vikr.* 1.8; 2.2 etc. and *Śāk.* 1–17, 1–20; 2–10 etc.

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motives and sense of the characters to develop their sense of beauty or having their sense of beauty developed through the magic influence of the maddening charms of their partners.[14] When the poet enjoys and makes us enjoy the beauty of the various aspects of nature, the enjoyment is in intensity, it is full and pervading the whole personality of the person that enjoys.

(3) *External reveals the Internal*

But we would certainly find fault with Kālidāsa and doubt his greatness if he stops here. Actually he does not stop here. Kālidāsa is not and cannot be the worshipper of lust and the uncontrolled earthly love of the senses. He would not be Kālidāsa if he were so. After showing his keen and clear appreciation of the external charms of the objects that he describes, after accepting that beauty is a reality in life and its objects revealed first by the external charms, Kālidāsa next stresses the internal charms and beauties of his natural objects, his men and women. Virtue, goodness, nobility and culture always lie deep in the externally beautiful objects.[15] These must essentially be naturally blended together. No object of nature in Kālidāsa, no man or woman depicted by him possesses mere external beauty. Kālidāsa specifically stresses that merely external beauty is no beauty. External beauty must be suggestive of the inner beauty of virtues and culture.[16] The very external charms must be unopposed to internal beauty. Then only is it real beauty. Beauty is of the whole personality in its external and internal aspects.[17] Internal charms find thus an expression through the external. Beauty must

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14. Vide *Śāk.* अखण्डं पुण्यानां फलमिव च तद्रूपमनघम्। तवास्मि गीतरागेण हारिणा प्रसभं हृतः। *Vikr.* अतः खलु दिव्यरसाभिलाषिणा भवता चातकव्रतं गृहीतम्। and *Māl.* आकृतिविशेषेष्वादरः पदं करोति। etc.

15. Vide: न ह्येतादृशाः आकृतिविशेषाः गुणविरोधिनो भवन्ति। *Śāk.* Also *Megh.* रिक्तः सर्वो भवति हि लघुः पूर्णता गौरवाय।

16. Vide: अहो सर्वास्ववस्थास्वनवद्यता रूपस्य। *Māl.* अहो सर्वास्ववस्थासु चारुता शोभां पुष्यति। *Māl.* etc.

17. Vide त्वद्दर्शनादेव प्रसन्नबाह्यान्तःकरणोऽन्तरात्मा। *Vikr.* etc.

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be that much expressive, then only is it real beauty. Simplicity, virtue, high morals, nobility and culture, i.e., internal beauty of the personality is bound to attract greater attention of the poet of Kālidāsa's calibre. Beauty, by its very first appearance, must seem to be that of the whole personality.

(4) *Philosophical Side of His Theory*

This naturally demands an advanced, mature, awakened, noble soul too. Kālidāsa makes the whole of nature live, live in all its life because, to him even the soul of nature is awake. The quest of beauty in Kālidāsa ultimately culminates into the quest of the Soul. Beauty to Kālidāsa is external, internal and that of the soul all merged into one.[18] Even when he describes the amorous embraces of Śiva and Pārvatī, we are convinced that Kālidāsa is maddened by their external and internal charms blended with the soul. Sex for its own sake or for transitory lusty enjoyment has never appealed to Kālidāsa. The love of man, inspired by attraction of the external charms, deepened and experienced more realistically by the understanding and enjoyment of internal beauty, culminates or seems to progress on the path of culmination into the love and beauty of the soul, merging into which, man will finally experience intensely the fruitfulness of his life. It is thus seen that love of beauty awakens man's full personality to fullest bliss, the personalities merge into this enjoyment of beauty. Life is nothing if it is not this much beautiful. Thus, to Kālidāsa, beauty exists as a reality, as an inherent mental and emotional experience that enraptures the whole of the personality. There is beauty in life, in every object of life, it is to be a vision with the heart and once it is visioned, it assumes greater charm and loveliness.

(5) *The Trio*

Thus it is in Kālidāsa that beauty leads to perfect blessedness and the realisation of the highest purpose of

18. Vide f.n. 16 and 17.

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life. This highest purpose of life is the enjoyment of the joys of life to their completion, in all reality and intensity, enjoying life in all its true colours, experiencing the truth of life in all its variegated aspects and then blending it with the divine, i.e., the other worldliness.[19] Thus, in the *Sundara* of Kālidāsa, *Śiva* and *Satya* are completely merged, or, in other words, they stand as a trio unique in itself. Thus, with all love and interest in life, with all intense desire to enjoy the good that life has to offer, Kālidāsa is not the worshipper of the ordinary in life. Life in all its reality and intensity offers to him genuine delight and Kālidāsa wants us to enjoy the same with enthusiasm coupled with equanimity of the mind. *Sundara, Śiva* and *Satya* is the great trio that Kālidāsa has united into one in his theory of the aesthetic. *Sundara* leads to *Ānanda* that is to be enjoyed with the whole awakened consciousness in its perfect reality.

(6) *Beauty and Naturalness*

Naturalness and natural revelation are the best qualities of beauty. Even though Kālidāsa does not fail to describe and like embellishments and what part they play in making beauty expressive, he insists on beauty revealing itself in its natural colours, natural charm.[20] Where there is natural charm finding expression in full, no embellishments are required. Life in all its aspects of beauty that is reality must of necessity be natural. Only the natural is real and beautiful in life.[21] The inner charms and beauty of the soul would find expression in the external, only when beauty is natural. There is a unique charm and art in the absence of the artificial. Expression, art, charmingness and

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19. अखण्डं पुण्यानां फलमिव च तद्रूपमनघम्। *Śak.* Also *Kum.* 1.35, 4.5; मानुषीषु कथं वा स्यादस्य रूपस्य संभवः। न प्रभातरलं ज्योतिरुदेति वसुधातलात् *Śak.* etc.

20. शुद्धान्तदुर्लभमिदं वपुराश्रमवासिनो यदि जनस्य। दूरीकृता खलु गुणरुद्यानलता वनलताभिः॥ *Śak.* Also *Vikr.* 1.8; *Śak.* 1.20; *Kum.* 1.31; तथापि तस्याः लावण्यं रेखया किंचिदन्वितम्। *Śak.*; न खल्वस्याः प्रतिच्छन्दात्परिहीयते मधुरता। *Māl.* या तत्र स्याद्युवतिविषये सृष्टिराद्येव धातुः। *Megh.*

21. Vide f.n. 20.

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fineness come in naturally when beauty is expressed in all its naturalness and reality.

This brief narration of Kālidāsa's theory of the aesthetic leads us to understand clearly that,

(1) Kālidāsa has deep interest in life in its fulness and in all the joys that it offers. He drinks deep of the cup of life. With all conflicts and sorrows in it, life to him is ultimately, good and beautiful and worthy of joys. And his conception of life is strictly Indian in so far as it makes a very happy combination of life in this world and the life hereafter.

(2) Love of the flesh, of the bodies comes to him as a natural course because it indirectly reveals the quest of the soul to realise itself by uniting with another through the body and its beauty, external and internal.

(3) In Kālidāsa, *Sundara, Satya* and *Śiva* are united into one, or, they stand as a unique trio. In his conception of life and through his view that the highest realisation or blessedness is possible through life, Kālidāsa expresses what is the best in Hindu culture and Hindu philosophy.

(4) Kālidāsa drinks at the fountain of life and drinks deep because he thereby reveals his experience and enjoyment of the best in life and the best is essentially the beautiful.

(5) Self-centred life is no life, there is no charm in it. Life becomes really purposeful, really fruitful and beautiful only when man's *Aham* keeps itself expanding gradually.[22]

(6) Kālidāsa brings about a happy combination of the attractive (*Preya*) and the goods (*Śreya*). *Preya* is beautified and made purposeful by *Śreyas* and has all the charm and grandeur added by *Preya*.[23]

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22. As it happens in *Śāk* and *Vikr*.

23. अतः खलु दिव्यरसाभिलाषिणा भवता चातकव्रतं गृहीतम्। *Vikr;* भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदानि। *Śak.*

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Kālidāsa's Theory of Poetry

For a great writer, it is very much natural to be a worshipper of the beautiful. Art very naturally expresses the visions of the artist, his quest of reality of life and that of god through the beautiful, as a philosopher will, in the same natural manner, approach reality (*Satya*) through the good (*Śiva*). Like philosophers poets and all great writers are worshippers of the *Satya*. Being a *Prajāpati in his own* world,[24] a poet is also expected to be a philosopher. It is too well-known that great writers of the world have been philosophers in the true sense of the term. That is why they are known as *ārṣadraṣṭṛns*. But as their approach to this *Satya* is through life and through worship of humanity, they approach God as *Satya* through the beautiful. It will therefore, now be easy for us to know Kālidāsa's conception of Poetry because we have already known his theory of the aesthetic in broad outline. We will now understand Kālidāsas's conception of Poetry through the following stages :—

(1) Poetry and Sahṛdaya.

(2) Poetry and Beauty.

(3) Poetry and Perfection.

(4) Poetry and Naturalness.

(5) Poetry and Life.

(6) Poetry and the Poet.

We will now describe these points in some detail.

(1) *Poetry and Sahṛdaya*

The first and an important view that the poet would like to lay down is that Poetry is not for appeal to and appreciation of and enjoyment by all. Just as for becoming a successful poet certain qualifications are necessary, the most important one being *Pratibhā,* certain qualifications and faculties are necessary for the reader also. For real

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24. *Vikr.* 1-8; *Kum.* 1-3; 1-28; etc.

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enjoyment and appreciation of Poetry, a poetic heart is necessary. All hearts do not possess this faculty, just as it is not the lot of all to compose Poetry. A man can both compose and enjoy Poetry, man may only possess the faculty to enjoy Poetry. In either case, the heart is poetic. To define, in the words of the *Alaṅkāra Śāstra,* a *Sahṛdaya* is the real enjoyer and he is the one that can either compose poetry or have an appreciative eye for it, or both.[25] Kālidāsa's main concern is only with the *Sahṛdaya,* and, in all love and attachment towards him, he calls him a learned man.[26] Poetry is successful and fruitful only when these learned enjoy it and are fully satisfied by it. He wants only these learned to read him and enjoy the *Rasa* from it. This clearly proves that the greatest principle of poetry, the principle of communication is known and basically accepted by Kālidāsa. Poetry to him is nothing if it is not communication. From this very idea we conclude that to Kālidāsa, Poetry is essentially a matter of the heart and through the depiction of the innermost eternal emotions and conflicts of the human heart, the poet yields supreme Ānanda to the whole personality of man that is pervaded by the same unique and new experience.[27] The tastes of men may vary, the natures of man may vary the same leanings may not pervade men, but the delight that the poet yields is more or less the same.[28] The primary concern of the poet is with the heart, its deep emotions, its inner conflicts, its worries and desires, and a great poet will become great because he deals with these eternal emotions etc. which do not change with time, with circumstances, cultures etc. The greatness of great poetry lasts till man lasts as a human being and his humanity is constantly struggling. This is the reason why we call it *Rasa* of the divine type. Our ideal with Kālidāsa is that poetry yields

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25. That is the reason why to Kālidāsa the pleasure of the learned *Sahṛdaya* is the main concern. Vide आ परितोषाद्विदुषां न साधु मन्ये प्रयोगविज्ञानम् *Śāk.;* तं सन्तः श्रोतु र्हन्ति सदसद्वयक्तिहेतवः। *Ragh.*, etc.

26. Vide : 25.

27. Vide : *Śak.* 1-22; तवास्मि गीतरागेण हारिणा प्रसभं हृतः। *Śāk.;* *Kum.* 1.28 etc.

28. नाट्यं भिन्नरुचेर्जनस्य बहुधाऽप्येकं समाराधनम्। *Māl.*

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the *Ānanda* that is similar to the *Ānanda* to be had from the realisation of God. This *Ānanda* will become possible only when there is perfect communication of the sentiment of the poet's heart in the same intensity at the time of the composition being enjoyed exactly in the same manner and in the same intensity at the time of reading. There is no real taste of the literary perfection or greatness till a poet commands rapt attention and love of the reader. Thus, the poet here concludes that the reader and poet both must become *Cātakas* for the great enjoyment of the divine *Rasa*.[29] Poetry is nothing if it does not pervade the whole personality of the writer as also the reader. Poetry is to be enjoyed not by the mind or merely the heart but by the whole personality.[30]

(2) *Poetry and Beauty*

Since the notion of the beautiful has been acceptable to Kālidāsa as a fact of divine creation and reality,[31] he goes a step further to state that the man who takes interest in life is bound to be charmed by and enamoured of the beautiful in life. As a visionary and philosopher of life and so as a poet, Kālidāsa accepts that there is good and beautiful in life and man is bound to be attracted towards them. This leads to attachment and once there is attachment towards a certain object, the thing visioned as beautiful becomes more beautiful.[32] Beauty has therefore this subjective element and it is true to our experience in life. Once there is real attraction, the object seen becomes more charming to the eyes and what is more charming to the eyes is really more beautiful because beauty lies in man's eyes, it is also what we feel. All this has its place in poetry. To Kālidāsa, Poetry is a piece of beauty that is realised as such and

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29. अतः खलु दिव्यरसाभिलाषिणा भवता चातकव्रतं गृहीतम्। *Vikr*

30. संस्कारवत्येव गिरा मनीषी तया स पूतश्च विभूषितश्च। Kum. 1·28. etc.

31. न प्रभातरलं ज्योतिरुदेति वसुधातलात्। Sak; अस्याः सर्गविधौ प्रजापतिरभूच्चन्द्रो नु कान्तिप्रदः। Vikr.; अथवा चन्द्रादमृतमिति किमत्राश्चर्यम्। Vikr.. etc.

32. सर्वः कान्तमात्मीयं पश्यति। *Śāk.*

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enjoyed as that by the *Sahṛdaya* reader. Once a great poet writes, his composition is bound to defy all standards of criticism.[33] You appreciate a great work and language will be too poor a medium to express the best that is in the work. You cannot judge a great poet by ordinary standards and extraordinary literary standards are established by the great works of great poets. Sometimes a poet may defy established standards but ultimately he will firmly establish rules of literary evaluation of great works. If there is beauty in life, it must have its best expression in Poetry. To Kālidāsa, beauty is a reality of life and so, when Kālidāsa depicts this in literature, he is really depicting the deep-rooted reality of the human life. The good, the beautiful, the blessed finds expression in Kālidāsa, and the poet convinces us that he is worshipper of the best that is in man, and the best that is possible for man to attain to, though of course, on the other side, he takes man as he is, a bundle of weaknesses and strength and loves man immediately. Kālidāsa's Poetry is great mainly because of his deep conscious love for man as he is, his unstinted faith in his grand progress and the natural scope for the highest philosophical rise that he sees for him. Poetry is thus closely associated with life, its beauty and the love and vision of the poet towards it. Life is not mere realism or idealism in Poetry, it is idealism firmly based on reality. To Kālidāsa, Poetry is an escape into life.

(3) *Poetry and Perfection*

Now, the ideal of the poet of the stature of Kālidāsa is naturally great. Even though humble, and again conscious of his limitations, a poet must be self-confident and a man bent upon constant effort at creation and improvement till he wins the perfect satisfaction of his readers—the *Sahṛdayas*. Even though the path laid down by great seers and poets like Vyāsa, Vālmīki etc. describes respect, in Poetry, old is not always gold.[34] A poet is not ever a blind follower of

33. उपमानस्यापि सखे प्रत्युपमानं वपुस्तस्याः। *Vikr.* एको हि दोषो गुणसंनिपाते निमज्जतीन्दोः किरणेष्विवांकः। *Kum.* 1.3 etc.

34 क्व सूर्यप्रभवो वंशः क्व चाल्पविषया मतिः। *Ragh.* ; *Kum.* 1·31; 1.2 1·43 etc.

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convention. There is always scope for improvement and also progress.[35] There is always a better to the best, and, even though perfection is rare to be found in the world,[36] the poet aims at perfection—not only of style of *Rasa*—but of Poetry as a whole. He, as we have seen above, worries only for the pleasure of the reader, the *Sahṛdaya,* and he expects him to put him to severest test. The standard of literary beauty and poetic finery, of art, of literature as a whole, is bound to be very high and of rare achievement. Kālidāsa expects the ideal of the poet to be as high as the skies, nay, extraordinary. A poet seeks the extraordinary through the ordinary of life. Thus, in literature life is not to be depicted just as it is, Kālidāsa does not accept the modern principle of surrealism, but poetry is depiction of life as a poet has visioned, seen and evaluated it.

(4) *Poetry and Naturalness*

In the opinion of Kālidāsa, conscious effort at composition should be not felt. No doubt, a poet has to become a real *Adhikārin* at composition, nevertheless, the composition in all its aspects is expected to be as natural as it can be. Expression, finery, literary finish, use of figures, nay in every thing, we should feel that the composition is effortless, natural and then only shall we feel it to be really artistic. Nature and human life, characters in their life and incidents, everything should be *Svābhāvika.* Poetry is composed not because a poet is commanded, but only because the poet feels the inner urge to compose. No command of anyone can bring about literary composition. Only the heart's command will be acceptable to the poet.[37] A poet no doubt wins fame, prosperity etc., but the poet is not expected consciously to write for these extraneous purposes. No composition in Kālidāsa, no expression, no figure, nothing seems to come from conscious effort, except perhaps some part of the ninth Canto of the

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35. 34 above.

36. प्रायेण सामग्रयविधौ जनानां पराङ मुखी वश्वसृजः प्रवृत्तिः। *Kum.* 3·28

37. सतां हि संदेहपदेषु वस्तुषुप्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः। *Sak.* 1·22.

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Raghuvaṁśam. He can thus very well be called an *Ārṣa-draṣṭṛ*, and we can very well state in his case that "In case of the sages of old, the fact is that the sense comes running after the speech." Kālidāsa seems to talk to us in a natural way and the sense in all its magnanimity seems to follow invariably.

(5) *Poetry and Life*

In our discussion so far, we have seen that (i) To Kālidāsa, art is an escape into life, and (ii) Art reflects life not exactly as it is, but as it is seen and visioned by the poet. If poetry were only to depict life as it is, Kālidāsa would feel that no literary composition is necessary. Along with Poetry, we get the poet, and greater the personality of the poet, greater is his composition expected to be. Life in all its aspects, good and bad, strong and weak reveals itself in its true colours before the poet. The poet sees it, thinks on it, philosophises on it and comes to a positive conclusion about what life is and what it should be. Kālidāsa is a highly optimistic poet to whom the bad in life, the dirty in life is not unknown. Conflicts of life are what the poet is thoroughly familiar with. But, with all that, to a great poet, life offers what is the best in it, the noblest in humanity. It is because of his search after the noble in life that sometimes Kālidāsa seems to have got a very broad vision of life. But, even the Maṅgala that he visualises in life is realistic and perfectly in conformity with what life has to offer and what man on his own can have through life.

(6) *Poetry and the Poet*

To Kālidāsa, the two are inseparable. The greatness of the work surely is dependent on the greatness of the personality of the poet. And to Kālidāsa, a poet is what he feels and experiences and the progress of the personality of the poet is bound to be reflected in his poetry. Kālidāsa is the best illustration himself of the highest heights to which a poet can possibly rise. And it seems very clearly that the rise of the poet through life is exactly reflected in his works. And that explains why his best works are his last works.

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Kālidāsa will be read till the Sanskrit language is read and he will be remembered till humanity lasts.

In the end, we may add that the natural outcome of all this is,

(i) The sense of universality that we find in Kālidāsa is peculiarly his. The human emotion when it is depicted by a poet, must become universal. All *Sahṛdaya* readers must feel a sense of self-depiction in it. To Kālidāsa, it is fundamentally acceptable that Poetry of necessity must be altogether objective.

(ii) The depiction of *Rasa*, resting as an eternal element in the human heart must be the primary function here. And in this, Kālidāsa is a unique success.

(iii) A poet should be a man of few words, he should speak less and suggest more. Suggestion is the soul of literature and so it is in Kālidāsa. This explains why unlike all other poets in Sanskrit, it is only in the works of Kālidāsa that the reader exerts his emotions and ideas and becomes one with the poet's creation. Kālidāsa stands unsurpassed in miniature painting.

(iv) In Kālidāsa, nature is as lively as it should be. Nature is made to experience all the emotions of man and is at a perfect unity with man. Never does Kālidāsa describe nature for its own sake. Invariable association of man with nature is the greatest achievement of Kālidāsa.

(v) Naturally therefore, a poet is expected to concentrate on the inner beauty of Poetry, on *Rasa* and *Dhvani*, while the external charm follows in its course in the most effective way. This has won for Kālidāsa the famous compliment that" वैदर्भी कविता।

Kālidāsa's greatness rests on these and so many other facts.

F. 24

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भगवद्भक्तिमाहात्म्य की हस्तलिखित प्रति

एक विवरण

लेखक श्रीमन्नारायण द्विवेदी

भगवद्भक्ति माहात्म्य चन्द्रदत्त ओझा मैथिल की १९वीं शताब्दी पूर्वार्द्ध की रचना है। चन्द्रदत्त झा मिथिला जनपद के हरिनगर ग्राम के निवासी रहे। उनके द्वारा अन्य रचित ग्रन्थ कर्णगीतमाला, भगवती स्तोत्र, काशी शिवस्तोत्र, एवं कृष्ण विरुदावली हैं। भगवद्भक्ति महात्म्य में विस्तार से भक्तों के चरित्र का महत्व वर्णित किया गया है। रचना की एक हस्तलिखित प्रति प्रयाग के गंगानाथ झा अनुसन्धान संस्थान में संरक्षित है। ग्रन्थ देवनागरी लिपि में लिखा हुआ है और उसमें कुल ६५२ पत्रक हैं। सामान्यतया प्रति अच्छी स्थिति में है। पत्राकार में लिखित ग्रन्थ का उपान्त भाग जीर्ण शीर्ण है। ग्रन्थारम्भ में लेखक ने कृष्ण, विनायक तथा शारदा को नमस्कार कर मंगलाचरण किया है। यहीं उसने अपने मैथिल ब्राह्मण होने तथा भक्ति-माहात्म्य चरित करने का उल्लेख किया है। ग्रन्थकार ने भक्ति सम्बन्धी अपने स्वानुभव का विस्तार सहित वर्णन किया है। ग्रन्थ का विस्तार तीन खण्डों में हुआ है—विष्णु, शिव तथा शक्ति खण्ड। तदनन्तर ग्रन्थकार ने भक्ति की महत्ता का वर्णन करते हुए ब्रह्मा, विष्णु, शंभु तथा शक्ति को भक्त के वश बतलाया है—

भक्तस्यवशगो ब्रह्मा भक्तस्य वशगो हरिः
भक्तस्य वशगः शंभः शक्तिभक्तिवशानुगाः ॥

भगवद्भक्ति माहात्म्य नामक इस ग्रन्थ में कुल १४९ सर्ग हैं। प्रथम सर्ग प्राचीन भक्त स्मरण नामक है। तदनन्तर नाभादास, हनुमान, विभीषण, शवरी, अजामिल, जटायु, अम्बरीष, विदुर, सुदामा, चन्द्रहास, शिव, द्रौपदी, वाल्मीकि, रुक्मांगद, मयूरध्वज, प्रह्लाद, निम्बादित्य, जामात, श्रीमार्ग गुरुशिष्य, स्वामिशिष्य, श्रीरंग, कील्ह, अग्रदास, शंकराचार्य, मंडन, उदयनाचार्य, विट्ठलेश, नामदेव, प्रतिमादुग्धपान जयदेव, श्रीधरस्वामी, विल्वमंगल, विष्णुशर्मा (तरौनीग्रामनिवासी मैथिल), ज्ञानदेव, त्रिलोचन, कुलशेखर, रतिमती, रासोभक्ति, कर्म्मा, द्वयी : कन्या, पांचालराज, राजपुत्र, मातुल, भागिनेय, हंसव्याधा, वैश्य, भवनसिंह, देवाजी, कामध्वज, जयमल्ल, गोपभक्ति, श्रीधर स्वामी, ब्राह्मणभक्ति, निष्किंचन, साक्षिगोपाल, भक्त गौड़ द्विज, रामदासभक्ति जसूश्याम, नन्ददास, अल्हदास, वेश्याभक्ति, अन्तर्भक्ति, गुरुभक्त, रविदास, कबीर, पीपा, घना, सेनाभक्ति, सुखानन्द, सुरसुरानंद, सुरसुरि, नरहरि, पद्मभक्ति, तत्याजीवा, माधवदास, रघुनाथदास, नित्यानन्द, कृष्णचैतन्य, सूरदास, हरिदास, कृष्णदास, माथुर

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विट्ठलदास, हरिदास, रूप सनातन, व्यास समुदायभक्ति मुरारिदास, सदनदास, लड्डू, त्रिलोक, गोविन्द स्वामी, गुंजाभक्ति गणेश देवी, लषाभक्ति, नरसी महता, अंगद, चतुर्भुज, मीराबाई, पृथ्वीराज, रामराजा, मदनमोहन, सूरदास, तुलसी, समुदायभक्ति, गदाधर भटट, नारायणदास, पृथ्वीराज, सागन, रत्नावली, रामदास, चतुरस्वामी समुदाय, भक्ति गदाधर समुदाय, जगन्नाथ गोविंद समुदाय, स्वानुभवकथन, नाम चरित एवं भक्ति प्रसंग इसमें समाविष्ट हैं।

ग्रन्थकार ने प्रारम्भ में पौराणिक भक्तों की चर्चा के पूर्व भक्तमाल के रचयिता नाभादास के चरित का आख्यान किया है। नाभादास के भक्तमाल में भक्तों के चरित्र पर व्यापक ढंग से प्रकाश डाला है। ग्रन्थकार ने उनकी तथा अन्य भक्त चरित ग्रन्थों के निर्माताओं की आकृति में यह ग्रन्थ तैयार किया है और अन्त में स्वानुभव भक्ति प्रसंग भी अनिस्यूत कर दिया है। यह ग्रन्थ न केवल पौराणिक भक्तों के चरित्र अनुशीलन की दृष्टि से महत्वपूर्ण है अपितु इसमें मध्यकालीन भक्तों के जीवन पर भी व्यापक प्रकाश डाला गया है। हिन्दी साहित्य के अध्येताओं के लिए इसमें विशिष्ट सामग्री संचित है जिसका शोधपरक महत्व है। हिन्दी के सन्त तथा भक्त कवियों के चरित पर यहाँ अत्यन्त विस्तार से विचार किया गया है जिसका अनुशीलन अनुसंधित्सुओं के लिए लाभप्रद हो सकता है। मिथिला के कुछ विशिष्ट चरितों एवं विद्वानों पर प्रकाश डालने वाली महत्वपूर्ण सामग्री भी यहाँ उपलब्ध है। प्रसिद्ध दार्शनिक नव्यन्याय के प्रतिष्ठापक उदयनाचार्य के जीवन की विशिष्ट जानकारी उपलब्ध होती है। आचार्य उदयन के जन्मस्थान के सम्बन्ध में बंगला एवं मिथिला के विद्वानों में परस्पर मतभेद रहा है जिसके निराकरण में उपर्युक्त सामग्री से कुछ अभिनव, प्रकाश पड़ सकता है।

इसी प्रकार तरौनी ग्राम निवासी मैथिल विणुशर्मा के जीवन सम्बन्धित प्रामाणिक सामग्री यहाँ मिलती है जिनका साम्प्रदायिक नाम विष्णपुरी भक्तों में लोकप्रिय है तथा जिन्होंने प्रसिद्ध ग्रन्थ भक्ति-रत्नावली की रचना की है।

ग्रन्थ का आदि--

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

आकुंचितो हं वाहुक्यारि दामाणं व्रजांगणे
श्रीनन्दनं वरं वन्दे प्राच्यां वाचमगोचरम्
विनायकं नमस्कृत्य शारदा सर्वकामदा
भक्तिमाहात्म्यचरितं कुर्वेहं मैथिलो द्विजः
यथामे मति उत्पन्ना भक्तिमाहात्म्यवर्णने
यथामेऽनुभवो जातो वक्ष्याम्यग्रे सुविस्तरम्।

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खण्डत्रयं विधास्येऽहं ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन्नातिविस्तरम्
प्रथमे विष्णुखण्डे च शिवखण्डं ततः परम्
तृतीयं शक्तिखण्डं चेत्ये तत्खण्डत्रयं शुभम्
भक्तिर्हि सर्वलोकानां मातेवहितकारिणी
वर्णाश्रमस्थितानां तु तद्योगादिभिर्गतिः।
कलौ वर्णाश्रमरताः प्रायेण मनुजादिभिः
तेषां भक्तिं विना नान्यां गतिं पश्यामि कामपि
भक्तिस्तु द्विविधापूर्वा वैधी रागादिजा परा
वर्णाश्रमरवाः संतो भगवन्तो भजन्विये
तेषां तु वैधी विज्ञेया भक्तिसंसारतारिणी
रागादि जा तु वान्येषां सातिशीघ्रफलप्रदा
आर्तो जिज्ञासुरर्थार्थी ज्ञानीभक्तिं करोति वै
सर्व्वेषां चायते सिद्धिः स्वार्था नानात्र संशयः
न भवतेः सदृशं किंचित्प्रीणनं विद्यते हरेः॥

अन्त

इत्येवं भगवद्भक्तिमाहात्म्यं कथितं भया
सर्वागमहितं वैधं यथाशास्त्रं यथामति
अथंये कथिता भक्तास्तेषां मध्ये तु केवलम्।
निवसंति हरेः पार्श्वे केचित्तल्लोकवासिनः॥
केचित्सवो परानित्यं वैकुंठ चापि संतिवै
किंतु प्रियाहरेरेवैषा मुक्तकरी तु सः॥३॥
इतिविज्ञायते षांतु नामती गुण तो भया
कृतंहि कीर्तनं मेध सीदेत्कोपिचेन्मयि
यथा राजगृहे गन्तुमक्षमो राजसेविना
कुर्व्वन्हि सेवनं मर्त्यो लभते वांछितं ध्रुवम्।
अहमपि भक्तानां कृतवानस्मि कीर्तनं
असमर्थोन्यसेवाया वाङगात्रेणपि सेवते॥६॥
सर्व्वे भक्तवशाः प्रायो विशेषण तु देवताः
तत्रापि दुर्गा गणय तृषाकपिचतुष्टयं
एते कुर्व्वन्ति भक्तानां प्रार्थितत्वं विचारतः
भक्तास्वकीयभक्तानां प्राथयन्तिहितं ध्रुवम्॥८॥
अतोऽस्य श्रवणं पुण्यप्रदं कामार्थसाधनं
सत्कथा भक्तिजननी ततो मोक्षप्रदायकः

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किमत्र वहूक्तेन एकएव हि मारुतिः
सदात्मेव सूनृतो भक्त्या पुरुषार्थचतुष्टयं
अतो ग्रन्थस्यमाहात्म्यं यत्किंचित्कथ्यतेमया
संतः श्रुत्वाभिनंदतु ग्रन्थे कुर्वन्त्वनुग्रहं
पुराणश्रवणं देशकालवाख्यवस्थितं
एतस्य श्रवणोऽवश्यं नियमोनाप्यग्रंथितः
श्रुतपात्रस्तु फलदो नृणां सावरमंत्रवत् ॥३॥
किंचपाठे कलौ धर्म्मोनस्थास्यति कथंचन
तदापुराणश्रवणं कुत्रं वानियमः क्ववा ॥४॥
यथार्थवेदमार्ग्गस्तु तिरोभूतः कलेर्वलात्
पुराणमपि सर्वत्र सर्व्वंनैवास्ति तादृशं ॥५॥
अग्रेत्वंतदपिमूर्धानस्थास्यति मुनेर्वलः।
ममैतदपि लोकानां हिताय प्रभविष्यति॥
तस्मादेतन्माहात्म्यं श्रोतव्यं साधुभिर्जनैः
तेषांहि भक्तिः सर्व्वस्वं सैववात्रास्ति वर्णिता
अन्योऽपि शृणुतेयस्तु सोपिभक्तिमवाप्नुयात्
युतोहि भक्त संसर्गः श्रवणादन्नजायते॥
अभिसंधापयः कामान् शृणुयान्कीर्तनं सतां
तस्मै कामान्ददात्येव भगवान्भक्तवत्सलः
यथामाता पिता प्रेम कुपुत्रे पुत्रसेवितां
ददात्यभिमते वापि तथा प्रीतोभवेद्धरिः ॥२०
एकादश्यामुपवसन्कुर्व्वन् जागरणं निशि
श्रुत्वैतद्भक्तिमाहात्म्यं सर्वान्कामानवाप्नुयात् ॥२१
अपुत्रो लभते पुत्रं निर्धनो धनमाप्नुयात्
मूर्खो भवति मेधावी श्रुत्वा मां सत्कथा शुभाम्
हनुमच्चरितं श्रुत्वा लभते सर्व्ववांछितं
विभीषणस्यचरितं श्रुत्वा दृढ़भक्तिर्भवेन्नरः।
शवरीचरितं श्रुत्वा दृढ़भक्तिर्भवन्नरः॥
अजामिलस्य चरितं श्रुत्वा पापान्प्रमुच्यते।
जटायुचरितं श्रुत्वा जायते रामभक्तिमान्।
अम्बरीषस्य चरितं श्रुत्वापापाद् विमुच्यते ॥२५
विदुर स्त्रीकृतां भक्तिं श्रुत्वा प्रेमहरोभवत्
सुदामाचरितं श्रुत्वा दरिद्रो धनमाप्नुयात्
न शत्रुभयमाप्नोति लभते वांछितं फलम् ॥२७

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यो वालीभक्तिमाहात्म्यं सर्व्वसंकटनाशनम्।
वाल्मीकिमुनिमाहात्म्यं महापातकनाशनम्।।
रुक्मांगदस्य राजर्षेर्मयूरध्वजभूपतेः।
कीर्तनं सर्व्वपापघ्नं हरिभक्तिप्रदायकं।।
प्रह्लादचरितं श्रुत्वा मुच्यते सर्व्वसंकटात्
लभते हरिभक्तिं वसुदृढोजन्मजन्मनि
एवमन्ये तु एकाग्रे भक्तास्तेषां तु कीर्तनात्
हरिभक्तिमवाप्नोति ततः प्राप्नोति वांछितं
इदं श्रीभगवद्भक्तिमाहात्म्यं कथितंमया।
प्रीत्यैभूयाद्भगवतः श्रीकृष्णस्य दयानिधेः।।
भूत्वा प्रसन्नो भगवान् निजभक्ता नुकीर्तनात्
ददात्यभिगतं नृणां श्रोतॄणां वाचकस्यच।
प्रसीदतु हरिः श्रीमान्भगवान् भक्तवत्सलः।।
तद्भक्ति मे प्रसीदं तु तस्मैतेभ्यो नमोनमः।
षट्सहस्रमिताश्लोका उक्ताः सप्त शताधिकाः
उनयकांशदधिकं सर्गानां व शत शुभम्।।३५।।

पुष्पिका——

इतिश्री ओझा इत्युपनामचन्द्रदत्त कृतं भगवद्भक्तिमाहात्म्यं सम्पूर्णम्।।४९।।
रसाक्षिग्रहमुद्युक्ते मार्गे कृष्णे उष्ठके कुजे
भक्तिमाहात्म्यं लिखतं मुरारिनगरे वरे।
भक्तिप्रयच्छन्नृणां हरौ प्रीतिविवर्द्धनं
मनस्येवं परामर्श्य संगृहीतं मयाऽधुना।।१।।
यादृशं पुस्तकं दृष्ट्वा तादृशं लिखितं मया
यदि शुद्धं अशुद्धं वा मम् दोषोन दीयते।।

संवत् १९३६ शाके। ८१ आषाढ़ शुक्ल अष्टम्यां शुक्रवासरे हनुमान्मिश्रलिलेख पुस्तक।

विवरण

ग्रन्थनाम	भगवद्भक्ति माहात्म्य
ग्रन्थकार	चन्द्रदत्त ओझा
लिपिकाल	सम्वत् १९३६
लिपिकार	हनुमानमिश्र
लिपि	देवनागरी
पत्रक	६५२
संग्राहक	गंगानाथ झा अनुसन्धान संस्थान, प्रयाग

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श्रीगन्धर्वराजपुष्पदन्तविरचिता

महिम्नःस्तुतिः

श्रीप्रद्युम्नशर्मविरचितवृत्तिसहिता

नमोनमश्शिवाय ॥

महिम्नः पारन्ते परमविदुषो यद्यसदृशी
स्तुतिर्ब्रह्मादीनामपि तदवसन्नास्त्वयि गिरः ।
अथावाच्यस्सर्व्वस्स्वमतिपरिणामावधि गृणन्
ममाप्येष स्तोत्रे हर निरपवादः परिकरः ॥१॥

टीका

ननु स्तुतिर्गुणोत्कर्षप्रतिपादनं, तच्चाशेषगुणज्ञानसाध्यम्; अज्ञातस्य ज्ञापनानुपपत्तेः । तथा च परमेश्वरगुणानामनन्तत्वेन ज्ञानाविषयत्वम् । ज्ञानाविषयकप्रतिपादनेन चोपहास्यतैव स्यात् । अतस्तन्निराकरणव्याजेनौद्धत्यं परिहरन्नेवं गन्धर्वराजः परमेश्वरं स्तौति ॥

हे हर ! ते तव महिम्नो महत्त्वस्य परं पारं द्वितीयतटमवधिमिति यावत् अविदुषः एतावानेव महिमेत्यजानतो मम यदि भवदीया स्तुतिरसदृशी अयोग्याऽशक्यप्रतिपाद्या स्यात् तत् तस्माद्धेतोः ब्रह्मादीनामपि गिरस्त्वयि अवसन्नाऽवसादं गताऽयोग्या एवेति यावत् । तथा च ब्रह्मादिभिरपि सर्वज्ञैरलीकं न ज्ञायत एव किन्तु सर्वं ज्ञायते । परमेश्वरगुणानामविद्यमानेयत्ता कर्वं तैरपि ज्ञायेत अज्ञानाच्च स्तुतिं कुर्वतां तेषामेव सर्वज्ञानाञ्चेन्नोपहासस्तदा किमुतास्माकमल्पज्ञानामितिभावः । अथेति पक्षान्तरेण यदि कदाचिदेवमुच्यते सर्व एव स्वमतिपरिणामावधि यथास्यादेवं स्वकीया या मतिस्तस्याः परिणामो विषयता स एवावधिः सीमा यत्रै एवं गृणन् स्तुवन् अवाच्यः अनुपहसनीयो भवति । सा वाग् यदा तस्य गुणान गृणीते इत्यादेस्तदाऽस्मिन् स्तोत्रे ममापि परिकरः आरम्भो निरपवादो निर्दोषो भवेदित्यर्थः । तथा च ब्रह्मादीनामपि त्वत्प्रसादादेव त्वदीयस्तुतिनिर्वाहः । तथा कुर्याद्यथा नाहमुपहसनीयः स्यामिति भावः । भवत्परिकरः संक्षेपः पर्य्यङ्कपरिवारयोः प्रगाढगातृकारम्भविवेकयोरिति धरणिः । परः श्रेष्ठाविदूरान्योत्तर इति मेदिनी । दुःखहारकत्वेन प्रकृतोपयोगो महिम्नः नाम्न इति उपादानम् ।

कश्चिद्गन्धर्वराजः कस्यचिद्राज्ञ उपवने कुसुमान्यहरत । तिरस्करिणीप्रच्छन्ने आहरति तमाहरन्तं न कोपि पश्यतीत्यवधार्य्य राज्ञा तदीयपथि शिवनिर्म्मार्ल्यं क्षिप्तम् ।

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तल्लंघनेन च क्षीणशक्तिस्तेन ज्ञातो निर्भर्त्सितमनुष्यवत् पृथिव्यामितस्ततः पर्यटन् भगवन्तं तुष्टाव ॥

अतीतः पन्थानं तव च महिमा वाङ्मनसयो-
रतद्व्यावृत्त्या यं चकितमभिधत्ते श्रुतिरपि।
स कस्य स्तोतव्यः कतिविधगुणः कस्य विषयः
पदे त्वर्वाचीने पतति न मनः कस्य न वचः ॥२॥

टीका

अतीत इति सम्बोधनपरामर्शे चकारः। तेन हे हरेति। यद्वा अवधारणचकारस्तेनातीत एवेति। हे हर, तव महिमा वाङ्मनसयोः पन्थानमतीत अस्माकमिति शेषः। तथा च तव महिमा नास्माभिर्वाचाऽभिधातुं शक्यते। मनसा ज्ञातुं च न शक्यत इति भावः। तथा च यतो वाचो निवर्तन्तेऽअप्राप्य मनसा सहेति श्रुतिः। अभिधाने अशक्यत्वं प्रतिपादयन्नाह अतदिति। श्रुतिरपि वेदोपि यं भवन्तं चकितं यथा स्यादेवं अभिधत्ते वक्ति। कया अतद्व्यावृत्त्या न तत् अतत तद्व्यावृत्तिः। तदभेदः तेन त्वद्भिन्नत्वेनापि रूपेण त्वां प्रतिपादयन्ती श्रुतिर्भयमावहतीति भावः। य एतादृशः स भगवान् कथमस्मदादेः स्तोतव्यो? अपि च स भगवान् कतिविधगुणः कतिप्रकारको गुणः? स भगवान् कस्य ज्ञानस्य विषयः? अपि तु न कस्यापि। ननु वैद्यनाथविश्वनाथजटेश्वरादयः प्रत्यक्षसिद्धा एव सन्ति। तत्कथमविषयत्वं मनस इत्यत आह। अर्वाचीने पदे महेश्वरादौ कस्य मनो वचो वा न विशति न पतति। तथा च तत्त्वेन ज्ञप्तिः स्तुतिर्वा न शक्या। सा च ब्रह्मादीनां सर्वेषां वर्त्तत इति भावः। विधौ गजे च वह्नौ प्रकारे तेन विधाविति मेदिनी। पदं शब्दे च वाक्ये च व्यवसाये पि देशयोरिति मेदिनी॥ २॥

अशक्यार्थे प्रवृत्तिवैकल्यं परिहरन्नाह––

मधुस्फीता वाचः परमममृतं निर्म्मितवतः
तव ब्रह्मन् किं वागपि सुरगुरोर्विस्मयपदम्।
मम त्वेतां वाणीं गुणकथनपुण्येन भवतः
पुनामीत्यर्थेऽस्मिन् पुरमथन बुद्धिर्व्यवसिता॥ ३॥

टीका

हे ब्रह्मन्! गुरोरपि बृहस्पतेरपि वाग् वचः तव किं विस्मयपदं आश्चर्यविषयं भवति? अपितु न भवत्येव। कीदृशस्य गुरोः वाचो निर्म्मितवतः। वाचः किंभूताः मधुस्फीताः सुखहेतवः। पुनः किं भूताः परममुत्कर्षतापन्नम्। अमृतमेव (श्रयणम्) अनन्तरमेव सकलेन्द्रियाह्लादकत्वात्। तथा च मधुरवचसो बृहस्पतेर्वचो यदि तव न विस्मयमावहति तदा किमस्माकमतिकर्कशगिरो वाचः करिष्यतीति भावः। तर्हि किमर्थं भवतामयमारम्भ इत्यत आह ममेति। हे पुरमथन! भवतो गुणकथनस्य गुणाभिधानजन्यस्य

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पुण्येन एतामात्मनो वाणीं पुनामि निर्मलीकरोमि इति कृत्वा एतस्मिन्नर्थे स्तुतिरूपेण मम बुद्धिर्व्यवसिता प्रवृत्ता। तथाच स्वोपकारार्थमेव स्तुतौ प्रवृत्तिः। स त्वन्नामग्रहणेन भविष्यति। किं गुणज्ञानेनेति, यद्वा वाचो वेदस्वरूपों निर्म्मितवतः सुरगुरोर्ब्रह्मणोऽपि वाक् किं विस्मयपदमित्यन्वयः॥३॥

अथ भगवतः स्तुत्यत्वे विवदन्तमतिपापिष्ठं निराकुर्वन्नेवं स्तौति—

तवैश्वर्य्यं यत्तज्जगदुदयरक्षाप्रलयकृत्
त्रयीवस्तु व्यस्तं तिसृषु गुणभिन्नासु तनुषु।
अभव्यानामस्मिन् वरद रमणीयामरमणीं
विहन्तुं व्याक्रोशीं विदधत् इहैके जडधियः॥४॥

टीका

हे वरद! ईप्सितप्रद! इह जगति अस्मिन्नर्थे भवत्स्तुत्यत्वे एके जडधियो मूर्खाः व्याक्रोशीं विदधते कुर्वन्ति। अहमहमिकया साक्षेपमुच्चैर्भाषणमाक्रोशः। ततो ङीप्। तेन विवदन्त इत्यर्थः। किं कर्तुं? तव यद् ऐश्वर्य्यम् अणिमादि तद्धि हन्तुम्। ऐश्वर्य्यं कीदृशं? जगदुदयरक्षाप्रलयकृत्, जगतामुत्पत्तिस्थितिविनाशकारकम्। पुनः कीदृशम्, त्रयीवस्तु त्रय्या प्रतिपाद्यम्। पुनः कीदृशं? तिसृषु तनूषु व्यस्तं ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवरूपासु विविच्य व्यस्तं व्यक्तीकृतम। तनुषु कथम्भूतासु? गुणाः सत्त्वरजस्तमोरूपाः। तैर्भिन्नासु भिन्नत्वेन प्रतिपाद्यासु। तथा च गुणानां भेदात्तेषां भेदो भासते न तु वास्तवो भेद इति भावः। व्याक्रोशीं कीदृशीं? अरमणीं स्वभावतोऽभव्याम्। पुनः कीदृशीम अभव्यानामविचारकानां रमणीयाम्। तथा ईश्वरविषये मूर्खैरेव विवादः क्रियते। मूर्खैरेव श्रूयते। जगदुदयरक्षेति फलद्वारेण प्रामाण्यमुक्तम्। त्रयीत्यागम एव प्रमाणमुक्तम्। कर्तृगतमेव फलमुद्दिश्य विदधतेरात्मनेपदत्वम्। ऐश्वर्य्यं विहन्तुमुद्यतानां तेषामात्मविघात एव पर्य्याप्नोति इति भावः॥ ४॥

कुतार्किणां विवादमाह—

किमीहः किंकायः स खलु किमुपायस्त्रिभुवनम्
किमाधारो धाता सृजति किमुपादान इति च।
अतर्क्यैश्वर्ये त्वय्यनवसरदुःस्थो हतधियः
कुतर्कोऽयं कांश्चिन्मुखरयति मोहाय जगतः॥५॥

टीका

हे वरद! अयं कुतर्कःऽअयं कुत्सिततर्कः जडधियो मूर्खान् कांश्चिज्जडान् मुखरयति। तथा च मौर्ख्यं मात्रं तेषां न तु फलसंवादः। किमर्थं जगतो विश्वस्य

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मोहाय जगदेव नाशयितुमिति भावः। कुतर्कमेवाह। खलु प्रश्ने। यस्त्रिभुवनं त्रैलोक्यं धाता सृजतीति भवद्भिरुच्यते स किमीहः कीदृशी ईहा चेष्टा तस्येत्युच्यताम्। न हि निश्चेष्टस्य ईश्वरादेः किमपि कर्तु शक्तिरुन्नीयते। किंकाय इति? अण्वुच्यताम्। कीदृशः कायः शरीरं तस्य न हि निश्शरीरस्य वायोर्घटादिजनकत्वं क्वचिद्दृष्टमिति। स च किमुपायः किंसामग्रीक इति? अण्वुच्यताम्। सामग्रीमन्तरा कुंभकारादिभ्यो घटादयो न जायन्ते। स च किमाधारः कस्मिन्नाधारे क्षितिं कृतवानित्युच्यताम्। न ह्याधारमन्तरा घटादय उत्पद्यन्ते। स च किमुपादानः? किं समवायिकारणम्? इत्युच्यताम्। येन यज्जन्यते तस्य -तत्समवायिकारणं तद्ज्ञानमावश्यकम्। अत एवोपादानगोचरापरोक्षज्ञानचिकीर्षाकृतिमत एव हि कारणत्वम्। त्वयि कथंभूते अतर्क्यैश्वर्येऽअतर्क्यमैश्वर्यमणिमादिर्यस्य तस्मिन्। कुतर्कः कीदृशः, अनवसरदुःस्थः अवनसरेदुःस्थो दुःस्थितिर्यस्य। कार्योत्पत्तेः प्राक् कुशंका प्रभवति। कार्योत्पत्तौ कार्यमेव स्वकारणमाक्षिपतइति मूर्खमिव सर्वान् मुखरयतीत्यत उक्त कांश्चिदिति।

अथ जगत्कार्यमेव न भवतीति कुशंकां परिहरन्नाह--

अजन्मानो लोकाः किमवयववन्तोऽपि जगता-
मधिष्ठातारं किं भवविधिरनादृत्य भवति।
अनीशो वा कुर्याद् भुवनजनने कः परिकरो
यतो मन्दास्त्वां प्रत्यमरवर संशेरत इमे॥६॥

टीका

हे अमरवर! देवश्रेष्ठ! अवयववन्तोऽपि लोकाः किं अजन्मानो भवन्ति! अपि तु न भवन्ति। सावयवानां प्रागभावप्रतियोगित्वमेव। कारणमन्तरेणैव कार्यं भवतीत्याशङ्क्याह जगतामिति। अधिष्ठातारं अन्यथासिद्धनियतपूर्ववर्तिनमनाबृत्य नपेक्ष्य जगतां संसारिणां भवविधिरुत्पत्तिविधिः किं भवति? अपितु न भवत्येव। आधुनिक एव कश्चित्तथास्थात् इत्याशङ्क्याह अनीश इति। भुवनजनन इति निमित्तसप्तमी। तेन भुवनजनननिमित्तंम् अनीशोऽसमर्थः। क्षित्यादेः कार्यस्य प्रागसत्त्वत्वात् क परिकरमारम्भं कुर्यात्? अपितु न कश्चिदिति। यतो जन्माद्धेतोरिमे मन्दाः अल्पबुद्धयः त्वां भवन्तं प्रति भवद्विषयं इति यावत् संशेरते संशयं कुर्वन्ति। तथा च क्षित्यादयो नित्या एव वा स्युः प्रागभावप्रतियोगिनोऽपि कारणमन्तरेणैव वा स्युः, सकारणका अपि अस्मदादि (अस्मादि) कृतिसाध्या एव स्युः। तदैव द्वितीयकोटिविरहात् संशयाभाव इति भावः॥

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE, ALLAHABAD

The Annual Meeting of the General Council of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad was held on the 31st December, 1967 at 4 p.m. in the Institute Building.

The President and Vice-Presidents being absent Dr. Baburam Saxena presided over the meeting for a while till Dr. Ishwari Prasad, Vice-President, came and took the chair.

The meeting began with Mangalacharan by Pandit Jayakishora Jha.

The Chairman placed the following condolence resolutions before the Council which were passed all standing in silence for a minute for each.

1. "The General Council of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad places on record its sense of deep and profound grief on the sad, sudden and untimely demise of Prof. R. N. Kaul who was not only a life member but also a member of the Executive Committee of the Institute. He guided its proceedings with his valuable suggestions. The Council conveys its condolences to the members of the bereaved family."

2. "The General Council of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad places on record its deep sorrow at the sudden passing away of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesha Mishra.

Dr. Umesha Mishra was a profound scholar of ancient learning and had from the time that he became its first Secretary 24 years ago, dedicated his life, his ability and his

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zeal for research to the service of the Institute. His organising capacity, ability and his enthusiasm for search for old Sanskrit records have succeeded in collecting together the present Library of the Institute with its large collection of manuscripts and the successful publication of the journal of the Institute and a number of other valuable publications.

This Council prays to the Almighty to bestow peace to his departed soul and to grant strength to the members of his bereaved family to bear the irreparable loss."

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting of the General Council held on the 30th April, 1964 were read and confirmed.

The Secretary presented the Report for the years 1964-65, 1965-66, and 1966-67 which was adopted. Sri Gajadhar Prasad Bhargava suggested that the Institute should adopt Sanskrit as the medium of all its work with Hindi summaries. It was decided to forward his suggestion to the Executive Committee.

4. The Treasurer presented the Budgets for 1967-68 and 1968-69 which were approved.

5. Under Rule 7 (1) and 17 of the Institute the election of office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee was taken up.

The following were elected for the period of three years from the date of election (December 31, 1967):

1. President :—Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Gopinatha Kaviraj.
2. Vice-Presidents :—(1) Dr. Ishwari Prasad.
   (2) Dr. Baburam Saxena.
3. Secretary :—Dr. Jayakanta Mishra.
4. Treasurer :—Dr. Rai Ram Charan Agrawal.
5. Members :—(1) Lt. Governor A. N. Jha.

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(2) Shri Kanhaiya Lal Misra.

(3) Shri Parmanand.

(4) Shri Gajadhar Prasad Bhargava.

(5) Shri K. Chattopadhyaya.

(6) Shri S. P. Chaturvedi.

(7) Shri Baidyanath Chowdhary.

(8) Dr. Rama Shankar Dwivedi.

(9) Smt. Prema Tewari.

(10) Shri J. D. Shukla. (*Ex-Officio*)

6. The Audit Report on the Accounts of the Institute for 1964-65 and the replies to it sent by the Executive Committee were read and approved.

7. Dr. Baburam Saxena proposed that the Executive Committee be directed to consider the amendment in the Constitution of the Institute that the Head of the Sanskrit Department of Allahabad University should be made an Ex-Officio member of the Executive Committee. The proposal was accepted.

8. Dr. Baburam Saxena also proposed that in view of the eminence of the late Honorary Secretary, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesha Mishra in the field of Indological research a Commemoration Volume of the Institute Journal containing research articles from all over India and abroad should be published. Dr. Ishwari Prasad proposed that in addition to this in view of his long association and devoted services to this Institute a suitable portrait of the Mahamahopadhyayaji should be placed in it. Both the suggestions were unanimously accepted.

9. It was decided that the Silver Jubilee of the Institute should be celebrated on the completion of 25 years of its existence. The Executive Committee was requested to take early steps in this direction.

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At the end the Vice-President, Dr. Ishwari Prasad thanked the members and hoped that with everybody's co-operation the Institute would serve the high and noble ends for which it was founded by him and his colleagues in the sacred memory of the late Pandit Ganganatha Jha.

There being no other matter to deal with the Secretary thanked the Vice-President and the members and the meeting came to a close.

(Sd.) S. P. Chaturvedi
Chairman

8-2-69

(Sd.) Jayakanta Mishra
Honorary Secretary

1-1-1968.

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GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE, ALLAHABAD

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEARS 1964-65, 1965-66 AND 1966-67

For and on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad I present the following report on the working of the Institute for the period 1964-65, 1965-66 and 1966-67.

I have to commence the report unfortunately with an excuse for convening this meeting of the General Council after a long interval, the last meeting having been held on 30th April, 1964. The previous Secretary, my father late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesha Mishra, was anxious to invite a reputed scholar to address the meeting of the General Council. The Executive Committee had decided to request our President Padma Vibhushan Mm. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj to address the house but owing to his continued ill-health the Secretary was not successful in getting his consent to come to Allahabad. Subsequently he himself became unwell in May this year and expired in September. The meeting has been therefore unavoidably delayed. I made an attempt too to invite a scholar to address the meeting. But those whom I was asked to approach expressed regret as they were all pre-engaged during December and therefore it was decided to convene the meeting even without any address by a scholar in order to avoid further delay in transacting urgent business.

OFFICE-BEARERS

The Institute suffered a great loss during this period in the untimely demise of Prof. R. N. Kaul a life member and an esteemed member of the Executive Committee, who was a valuable asset and an ardent worker of the Institute. His association with us will ever be remembered with affection and gratitude. This was followed subsequently this September by the irrepairable loss in the sudden demise of

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Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesha Mishra, who was the Honorary Secretary of this Institute since its very inception. He was one of its founders and whatever we see in the shape of this Institute is largely due to his initiative and drive.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

During the period under review important changes took place in the composition of the Executive Committee. Shri Kamalakanta Varma, President of the Institute, resigned the Presidentship and in his place Mahamahopadhyaya Padma Vibhushan Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj was elected to be the President for the residue of the term. Pt. Kanhaiyalal Misra, Advocate-General of U.P., was elected as a member of the Executive Committee in the vacancy caused by the death of Prof. R. N. Kaul for the interim period and later on in the vacancy caused by the death of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesha Mishra, Dr. Jayakanta Mishra was elected as the Secretary for the interim period. There was no other change in the Executive Committee.

OFFICE STAFF

Shri Hridaya Narayan Singh who was the part-time office assistant resigned his post on 5th January, 1966 and in his place Shri Shyam Lal Gupta was appointed as a full-time assistant from February 10, 1966.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

On account of paucity of funds with the Institute and the absence of any help from other sources it was not possible to appoint research scholars or offer scholarships. However in its own humble manner the Institute did encourage research through the medium of its research journal. Scholars from everywhere including those in foreign countries contributed original research articles to it on varied Indological topics. Thus Volumes XX, XXI and XXII, Parts 1-2 containing twelve articles and 437 pages were published during the period under report and Volume XXII, Parts 3-4 are likely to be published within a week or two. The Journal continued to be sent to research Institutes in

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India and abroad and we received in exchange 37 Indian and 11 foreign journals which were all kept in the Reading Room.

In September 1964 the Institute undertook the publication of *Mahākālasaṁhita* a veritable encyclopaedia of Tantra literature under the editorship of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj on the suggestion of the Central Sanskrit Board which made an initial grant of Rs. 5,000/- for preparing its press copy.

The Institute appointed two Research Scholars—Dr. Asha Ram Tripathi from 28th August, 1966 and Pt. Baburam Upadhyaya from 9th December, 1966 to 9th April, 1967 to prepare the press copy of the work. With much effort and at a high cost a few available manuscripts of this rare work containing two sections were obtained from various places. Thus, one complete manuscript of the *Kāmakalā Khaṇḍa* of the work was received from Nepal, three incomplete manuscripts from Darbhanga Sanskrit University and two incomplete manuscripts each containing 6 different sections of the *Guhyakālī Khaṇḍa* of the work from Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya. These manuscripts were first microfilmed and then enlarged. In this connection I am glad to report that in the course of the scrutiny of our own manuscript collection a small but complete section of the *Kāmakalā Khaṇḍa of Mahākālsaṁhitā* was traced out. Our only regret is that the late Mahamahopadhyaya who was editing it as Secretary along with Mm. Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj could not see it. The press copy of the first volume of the work entitled *Kāmakalā Khaṇḍa* was prepared and sent on July 20, 1967 to the Ministry of Education, Government of India on their request. I am happy to inform the house that Mm. Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj has kindly consented to continue to edit it and write an introduction when the printing of the work is in progress.

PRINTING OF THE DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS (VOLUME I) IN TWO PARTS

The Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts of this Institute giving particulars of 4,593 manuscripts in

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the Library under different subject headings was completed during the period under review and all the copies of the volume have been received from the press. The Government of India have so far paid us Rs. 9,186/- for preparing and editing the work and have agreed to bear the cost of publishing this work. The bills of the Printing Press have been sent to them amounting to Rs. 25,595.15 paise. The preparation of the second volume will be taken up next.

ACQUISITION OF PRINTED BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS

Thanks to the Ministry of Education, Government of India which gave an ad-hoc non-recurring grant of Rs. 6,000/- and to the Uttar Pradesh Government which donated a non-recurring grant of Rs. 1,000/- during the period under report, 1946 printed books were added to the Library, of these 414 volumes were purchased at a cost of Rs. 6,316.31. In addition to this 1,070 books were received from the authors and publishers as presentation copies under the instructions of the Ministry of Education, Government of India and 12 books were received for being reviewed in our journal. Thus the total number of books in the library up to the end of March, 1967 was 7,783.

Four collections of manuscripts were also purchased at a cost of Rs. 3,825/- during this period. The manuscripts have to be scrutinised, classified and described for inclusion in the second volume of the Descriptive Catalogue. Unfortunately the work is held up on account of paucity of funds and hands.

VISITORS TO THE INSTITUTE

Among the prominent scholars who visited the Institute, during the period under review, to consult books and manuscripts, mention may be made of the following scholars who have expressed their appreciation about the working of the Institute :

1. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi, retired Professor of Sanskrit, Nagpur University;

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2. Shri R. N. Ganguly, Superintendent, National Sample Survey, Government of India;

3. Dr. Siegfried A. Schulz, Catholic University of America, Department of Modern Languages, Washington.

4. Prof. Hara, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Tokyo, Japan;

5. Shri N. C. Gadgil, Vice-Chancellor, Poona University;

6. Shri Lakshmana Sastry, Deputy Director of Higher Education in Oriental Studies, Hyderabad; and

7. Dr. K. C. Varadachari of Tirupati.

The Rajyapala of Uttar Pradesh, Shri Bisvanatha Das visited the Institute, gave an address to the members and evinced great interest in the manuscripts preserved here.

His Holiness Shri Shankaracharya Swami, Head of the Sringerimutt, visited the Institute and gave a very illuminating discourse in Sanskrit and Hindi on Vedanta.

MEMBERS

During the period under review 2 persons were enrolled as life members and 2 as ordinary members. The total number of members of the Institute on 31-3-1967 was 213 as follows :—

1.	Honorary Members ..	4
2.	Life Members and Donors ..	85
3.	Annual Members ..	118
4.	Associate Members ..	2
5.	Nominated and Ex-Officio Members ..	4

MEETINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

There were 15 meetings of the Executive Committee

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during the period under the report. On two occasions the meetings could not be held as the quorum was not complete.

THE NEEDS OF THE INSTITUTE

What has been said above depicts the brighter side of the Institute. But the matter for our deep concern is its financial position. While for obvious reasons the expenditure side is mounting up during these days of soaring prices, the income side has not shown any sign of improvement, our only source of income being the recurring grant of Rs. 5,000/- from the State Government and about Rs. 4,000/- interest on Government Securities. The other items of income such as sale of publications and garden proceeds, membership-fee etc. are uncertain and are not dependable. Meanwhile the prices have been soaring and it has become necessary to pay heavy dearness allowances to the employees of the Institute and increased printing rates to the press. Hence it is not surprising that the Institute is at present working with a total deficit balance of Rs. 26,592/- for which it has to pay Rs. 176.40 paise per month interest to the Bank. The Statement of Income and Expenditure will give an accurate idea about the actual state of the finances of the Institute. The greatest need of the Institute therefore is that this Institute should not only be made immediately free from this heavy debt but the possibility of incurring such a debt in future should be ruled out.

The Institute badly needs funds for completing the building, providing adequate furniture, adding to the strength of the staff (including research scholars and Pandits) and providing adequate emoluments to them. These needs and requirements are being considered by the Executive Committee and when decisions have been taken on them they will be reported to the General Council.

With these words I submit the report for your consideration.

December 31, 1967

JAYAKANTA MISHRA
Honorary Secretary

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BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR 1967-68 AND 1968-69

	Actual 1966-67	Budget 1967-68	Budget 1968-69
1. Membership fee	1,074.52	1,000	1,000
2. Sale of Publications	6,128.11	3,000	4,000
3. Interest	8,235.25	4,000	4,000
4. State Government recurring grant	5,000	5,000	5,000
5. Miscallaneous	629.42	600	600
6. Central Government grant for Library	6,000	..	..
7. State Government grant for books	1,420	..	..
Deficit Balance	...	9,125	7,625
Total	28,487.30	22,725	21,625

	Actual 1966-67	Budget 1967-68	Budget 1968-69
1. Establishment	9,465.05	10,000	10,100
2. Purchase of Books & Mss.	8,351.31	1,500	1,000
3. Maintenance & Repairs of Building	nil	1,000	1,000
4. Purchase and Repair of furniture	2,009	1,000	500
5. Purchase of cloth card-board and binding	500	500	500
6. Electricity	120.36	125	125
7. House & Water Tax	nil	300	200
8. Purchase of chemicals for preservation of Mss. & books	nil	200	200
9. Printing charges	3,300	5,000	5,000
10. Postage & Stationery	510.55	500	1,000
11. Interest on overdraft	1,762.52	2,000	1,500
12. Contingencies	629.42	600	500
Surplus Balance	1,839.09	..	..
Total	28,487.30	22,725	21,625

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the General Council of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad, was held on the 8th February, 1969 at 3.30 P.M. in the Institute building. The following members were present:

1. Professor Saraswati Prasad Chaturvedi (in the Chair)
2. Dr. Rai Ram Charan Agrawal (Treasurer)
3. Shri Shriman Narain Dwivedi
4. Dr. Ram Shanker Dwivedi
5. Dr. Shri Ram Sinha
6. Shri Ganga Ram Gupta
7. Shri Rudrakanta Mishra
8. Shri V. Hanumanthachar
9. Shri Gajadhar Prasad Bhargava
10. Smt. Prema Tiwari
11. Dr. Asha Ram Tripathi
12. Mr. Justice H. C. P. Tripathi
13. Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saxena
14. Professor Shyam Narain
15. Professor V. N. Mani Tripathi
16. Professor S. N. Mittal
17. Dr. Jayakanta Mishra (Secretary)

and many other members of the public, who had been invited to the annual address. In the absence of the President and the Vice-Presidents, Professor Saraswati Prasad Chaturvedi presided over the meeting.

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1. The proceedings began with "Mangalacharan" and an address of welcome in Sanskrit to Dr. Gaurinath Shastri, Vice Chancellor of Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishwavidyalaya, the chief guest of the evening.

2. The following condolence resolutions were unanimously passed, all standing in silence for a minute for each:

(a) "Resolved that this meeting of the General Council of the Ganganatha Research Institute places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the passing away of one of the esteemed Life Members and Founders of the Institute, Professor A. C. Mukerji, who had retired as Head of the Philosophy Department in the University of Allahabad several years ago.

Professor Mukerji was an eminent philosopher of international reputation and his love for Sanskrit learning was well known. He took keen interest in the activities of the Institute. In his death the Institute has lost one of its well-wishers. The Council offers its sincere condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

Resolved further that a copy of this resolution be sent to the members of the bereaved family."

(b) "Resolved that this meeting of the General Council of Ganganatha Jha Research Institute places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the passing away of one of the esteemed Life Members and Founders of the Institute, Professor A. C. Banerji, Ex-Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad. He was an eminent Scientist and educationist of the Country and his love for Sanskrit learning was well-known. In his death the Institute has lost an ardent well-wisher and devoted supporter. The Council offers sincere condolence to the members of the bereaved family.

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Resolved further that a copy of this resolution be sent to the members of the bereaved family."

3. The minutes of the last Annual Meeting of the General Council held on 31st December, 1967, were read and confirmed.

4. The Secretary presented the Report for 1967-68 and for the period April 1, 1968 to January 31, 1969, which was adopted.

5. The Treasurer presented the Budget for 1969-70 and the Audit Report on the accounts of the Institute for 1965-66 and the replies to it sent by the Executive Committee. They were approved.

6. The Chairman introduced the chief guest to the audience and requested him to deliver his address on "The Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar."

Dr. Shastri in his opening remarks observed that the University of Allahabad must recognise this Institute. He exhorted the members of the department of Sanskrit in the Universities to take an active interest in the noble cause of preserving our ancient culture and traditional heritage in such institutes. He criticised the step-motherly treatment of the Governments towards Indological studies and Sanskrit culture. He further maintained that while encouraging the Hindi and other Indian languages, English should not be discarded as an international link with the outside world.

Dr. Shastri lucidly explained the difference between the monism of Shankarcharya and that of Bhartrahari. He quoted profusely from the *Vakyapadiya* and amply demonstrated how "Vivarta" and "Parinama" were considered to be two different concepts in Sankara whereas there was no such distinction maintained by Bhartrhari. Bhartrhari, ac-

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cording to the learned lecturer, believed that *"Sabdā-Brahma"* was a reality and *"Kala Sakti"* was its supreme power. All the three were real on the empirical plane—differences appear in relation to human knowledge. On the supra-logical plane there is no difference between these three which are conjured up by *Avidya* (ignorance). These three he equated with *Trik* of Kashmir Shaivism.

7. The Chairman thanked the learned speaker of the evening and expressed his hope that he would continue his interest in the Institute in future.

8. The meeting came to a close with a vote of thanks by the Secretary to the Chairman, the Chief guest and the members.

(Sd.) Jayakanta Mishra
Honorary Secretary
8-2-69

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GANGANATH JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE ALLAHABAD

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1967-68 & A REPORT FOR THE PERIOD APRIL 1, 1968 TO JANUARY 31, 1969

For and on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad, I present the following report on the working of the Institute for the year 1967-68 and for the period April 1, 1968 to January 31, 1969.

Building and Equipment

During the period under review the most urgent problem that had to be attended to was the repair and maintenance of the existing building of the Institute. Owing to paucity of funds we had not been able to attend to these up to now but as it could no longer be avoided, the Executive Committee had to take steps despite the acutely precarious finances of the Institute. The leaking roofs everywhere, the dilapidated roof of the room adjacent to the stairs in the southern wing, the ceiling of the portico, the ceiling of the Committee Room, the plastering of the walls, the completion of the gate and the construction of the eastern boundary wall, the repairs of the dilapidated servants quarters—all these were carried out and the entire building was white-washed—all at a total cost of Rs. 3,272.10 P.

The electric wiring up-stairs in the South Wing had become rotten and in the North Wing there was no electric connection. It has been decided to get South Wing rewired and the North Wing to be provided with electricity. The Reading Room has been provided with ceiling fans and the Institute is now provided with a telephone connection also.

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Development Plan

The Government of India have been approached for a long time for substantial help and I am happy to report that consequent upon the General Council agreeing to reasonable Government control they asked the Institute to prepare a comprehensive development plan. Accordingly the Executive Committee forwarded to the Government of India a comprehensive plan containing items of recurring and non-recurring expenditure. The Secretary was called to a meeting at New Delhi in September 1968 and the plan is under the active consideration of the Ministry and it is hoped that before long something positive would be achieved. Meanwhile the Central Government have sanctioned for the first time Ad hoc Maintenance Grants of Rs. 5000 during 1967-68 and Rs. 7,500 during 1968-69.

The State Government have also been approached to consider our financial condition. The Rajyapal, Dr. B. Gopala Reddy, paid visit to the Institute early in August 1967 and promised to do his best to promote the interests of this Institute. It is hoped that the recurring grant-in-aid of the State would be enhanced before long. Another request that we have been making to the Uttar Pradesh Government for the last several years is to grant us additional land in the North and the South Wings of the Institute plot, as well as in the front so as to make our campus decent and approachable to the main road on the Panna Lal Road side. It is hoped that our request would now be favourably considered.

Recognition by The University of Allahabad

Another important problem that has been agitating the authorities of this Institute for a very long time has been the desirability of recognising the research work done under its auspices by the University of Allahabad for purposes of

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awarding degrees. During the period under review the University authorities appointed a Committee, consisting of Dr. B. R. Saxena, Prof. Goverdhan Rai Sharma, Dr. Adya Prasad Misra and Prof. Durganand Sinha. It is understood that the Committee has submitted a favourable report. The proposal is at present before the Academic Council. It is hoped that the Academic Council and Executive Council will also accept the proposal.

Use of Sanskrit and Hindi

The Executive Committee considered the feasibility of adopting Sanskrit and Hindi as the medium of work carried on by the Institute. It was decided that in view of the international field of its work English should not be given up by the Institute but Hindi and other Indian languages should also be used. Accordingly our work of the Executive Committee is now conducted in Hindi and the Journal has begun to publish research papers etc. in the Indian languages also.

Framing of Leave Rules

For some time past it has been pointed out to us by the Government auditors that proper service rules and leave rules should be framed for the employees of the Institute. They have now been formulated and provisionally adopted by the Executive Committee.

Silver Jubilee Committee

At the last meeting of the General Council it was decided to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the Institute in 1969. In pursuance of that proposal a strong Committee was formed under the Chairmanship of Pt. K. L. Misra, Advocate General, U.P. An appeal for funds for the function has been sent to a large number of persons all over the country, who are interested in the promotion of Indian learning and

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Culture. It is proposed to hold the function sometime in October–November 1969.

The making of the portrait of the late Mahamahopadhyaya DR. UMESHA MISHRA has been entrusted to Messers Sardana's Art Centre at New Delhi and the work of bringing out a Memorial Volume of the Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute in his name has also been taken up and I am glad to report that thanks to the exertions of our Vice-President, Dr. B. R. Saxena, we have been able to obtain a large number of original research papers from India and abroad for it. It is hoped to publish this Volume also on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee.

Office Staff

The office staff has been considerably strengthened during the period under review. The Curator has been relieved from work in the Library of the Printed Books section, and has been deputed wholly to the Manuscript section and Sri G. D. Sharma, a trained Librarian with a long experience, has been appointed as Assistant Librarian incharge of the Printed Books section. In the Manuscript section Prof. Raghubar Mitthoo Lal Shastri has been appointed as Research Officer. Prof. Shastri has been classifying and preparing the Descriptive Catalogue of Persian and Urdu Manuscripts in the Institute Library. The Reading Room has been shifted from the Library Hall of the printed books to the corresponding Hall in the North Wing in order to avoid overcrowding.

Sri R. P. Mathur has been appointed as temporary part-time Office Assistant for work in connection with the Silver Jubilee. Sri Badri Datt Bhatt has been working in place of the Office Assistant Sri S. L. Gupta from January 25, 1969.

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In the Mahakalasamhita section Śri Tekanatha Jha Shastri worked from the 2nd April 1968 to 31st May 1968 and Sri Devendra Mishra M.A., has been appointed with effect from January 10, 1969.

Pandit Srī Jayakishora Jha (part-time Pandit) has been temporarily transferred from the Manuscript section to the Mahākālasmhitā section.

Research and Publication

(1) *Journal and Publication of rare texts*: During the period under review Volume XXII parts 3 and 4 containing five research papers was published and Volume XXIII, Part 1 to 4 containing seventeen research papers is likely to be published within a fortnight. Under the scheme of publishing rare texts in the *Journal* we have now begun to publish Pushpadanta's philosophical *Mahimnastotra* with an unpublished commentary on it found in our Library. Matter for Volume XXIV and Volume XXV is ready for the Press as Umesha Mishra Commemoration Volume. The publication of the *Journal* has been delayed unduly on account of the difficulties of the Printing Press and the Institute requires its own specialised Printing Press for this reason at an early date. Government have been approached for this help also.

(2) *Mahākālasaṁhitā*: The printing of the text of *Kāmarkalākhaṇḍa* of the *Mahākālasaṁhitā* as prepared by the Institute has been finally approved by the Government of India and they have asked for the estimates of the Printers. A Hindi Summary of this portion of the work has been prepared and the Press copy of the Khanda is being finally revised under the guidance of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj. Transcriptions of *Guhyakalīkhaṇala* of the work are being made out but further work on this por-

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tion is seriously handicapped by the absence of additional grants for the *Mahākālasaṁhitā* Scheme by the Government. Pt. Jayakishora Jha is at present engaged on this part of the work.

(3) *Descriptive Catalogue* : I am happy to report that the publication of the I Volume of *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts* of this Institute has been warmly welcomed by competent scholars. Happily the Government of India have sanctioned the preparation and printing of the II Volume of it also and have called for the estimates for its preparation and publication. The Institute is, therefore, going ahead with this work in right earnest.

Library and Reading Room

The annual stock-taking of the Manuscripts and the Printed books and Journals was completed early in July 1968. During the period under review the Library and the Reading Room were largely attended particularly by post-graduate students, research scholars and professors of the University. A number of scholars from outside also visited it. Mention among distinguished visitors may be made of Mr. Justice V. G. Oak Chief Justice of Allahabad High Court and I. Clifford Wright, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of London. The University of Mysore deputed three scholars for consultation of manuscripts in the Institute. As our library is a non-lending Library, they made a film photo copy of the rare Manuscript of *Nyāya Mañjarī* by Jayant Bhatta.

The Card Catalogue of the books and Journals in our Library is being made scientific and the making of card-index cabinets has been ordered. There has been an acute shortage of shelves and tables for the library and the reading room but we have not been able to add more than one large

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shelf owing to paucity of funds. A fumigation box for the Manuscripts Section has, however, been acquired.

The *Journal* of the Institute was sent to Research Institutes in India and abroad in exchange for their Journals and publications. During the period under review 62 Journals were received as against 57 in 1967, free of cost and they were all placed in the Reading Room.

We have made requests to many other Institutes for their periodicals and publications in exchange or for review and it is hoped that more Indological books and Journals would be received.

During the period under review the following additions were made to the Printed Books Section of the Library:

I. Printed Book		1-4-67 to 31-3-68 No. of books.	1-4-67 to 31-3-68 Cost of books. (in Rupees)	1-4-68 to 31-12-68 No. of books.	1-4-68 to 31-12-68 Cost of books. (in Rupees)
Presented	..	95	918.20	206	1320.87
Purchased	..	2	47.50	27	468 28
Total	..	97	955.70	233	1489.15

During the period under review no fresh Manuscripts were purchased or received.

42 books were received for review in our *Journal* and as usual they were all be placed on the shelves of the Institute Library after review.

Membership

The total number of members of the Institute during the period under review was 145 as against 213 last year as follows:—

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		As on 31-3-1967	As on 31-12-1968
I. Donors			
(1) Vice-Patron	..	7	7
(2) Benefactors	..	13	13
(3) Associates	..	2	2
II. Members—			
(1) Honorary Members		4	4
(2) Ex-officio Members		3	3
(3) Nominated Member		1	1
(4) Life Members	..	65	63
(5) Ordinary Members		118	52
Total	..	213	145

Meetings of the Executive Committee

There were 9 meetings of the Executive Committee during the period under report.

Needs of the Institute

The urgent needs of the Institute are brought to the notice of the Members year after year. But the time to realise them seems to be yet far off. The financial problem which when solved, solves all other problems, is in immediate need of solution. Though there has been a slight decrease in the amount of Bank Overdraft against securities held by them as follows:—

Balance on 1st September 1967	..	Rs. 29,554.62 P.
Blance on 31st December 1967	..	Rs. 27,105.07 P.
Balance on 31st December 1968	..	Rs. 27,923.72 P.

yet the amount of debt is heavy and at the same time we have some urgent items of expenditure to be undertaken. The book shelves are now full and congested and in order to accommodate the large number of books and Journals that are coming to us from authors and publishers under instructions from the Ministry of Education, Government of India or otherwise we require more shelves and more

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tables. In view of our erpanded activities the building now needs to be immediately completed.

Secondly a large number of Manuscripts in this Institute are in Maithili script which is not familiar to many Sanskrit scholars and many are in old and damaged condition, and unless these Manuscripts are transcribed in Devanagari, they will be lost or will be of no use to the modern scholars. Hence the appointment of at least two Pandits, who are well-acquainted with the Maithili script, for transcription as in other Manuscript libraries of the country is very necessary.

Lastly, the Malis and the Chowkidars have been provided in a way with quarters. Now the question of quarters for the Curator may also be considered. In an Institution of this type, fresh needs will be cropping up side by side with its progress and they must be dealt with as and when they arise. It is hoped that with the co-operation of the Members, the Institute will be able to achieve the objects for which it stands.

With these words I submit the report for your consideration.

February 8, 1969

JAYAKANTA MISHRA
Honorary Secretary

LIST OF JOURNALS RECEIVED IN THE GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE LIBRARY, ALLAHABAD

1. Adyar Library Bulletin (Madras).
2. American Review (New Delhi).
3. Ancient Indian History and Archaeology Bulletin of the University of Saugar.
4. Ancient India (New Delhi).
5. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

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6. Archiv Orientalni (Ceskoslovenska).
7. Aryan Path (Bombay).
8. Assam Quarterly (Gauhati).
9. Astrological Magazine (Bangalore).
10. Bharatiya Vidya (Bombay).
11. Britain (New Delhi).
12. Bharatiya Itihas Samsodhaka Mandals Quarterly, Poona.
13. Bulletin of the Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan (Surat).
14. Bulletin—Institute for the Study of U.S.S.R. (Munich Germany).
15. Bulletin—Institute of Advanced Study (Simla).
16. Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.
17. Bulletin of the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.
18. Bulletin of the Rama Krishna Mission Institute of Culture (Calcutta).
19. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies University of London.
20. Central Asiatic Journal (The Hague, Holland).
21. Dacca University Studies (Dacca).
22. East and West (Rome).
23. Folklore (Calcutta).
24. Higher Education and Research in the Netherlands.
25. Hindustani (Allahabad).
26. Indian Archives (New Delhi).
27. Indian P.E.N. (Bangalore).
28. Indian Philosophy and Culture (Vrindaban).
29. Indo Asian Culture (New Delhi).
30. Indogermanische Forschungen.
31. Jain Antiquary (Arrah).
32. Journal of the American Oriental Society (U.S.A.).
33. Journal Asiatique (Paris, France).
34. Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).

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35. Journal of Asiatic Society of Bombay.
36. Journal of Gandhi Peace Foundation—Gandhi Marg.
37. The Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.
38. Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Tokyo, Japan).
39. Journal of Indian History (Trivandrum).
40. Journal of the Kerala University Oriental Research Institute Manuscript Library, (Trivandrum).
41. Journal of the M. S. University, Baroda.
42. Journal of the Music Academy, Madras.
43. Journal of the Mythic Society, (Bangalore).
44. Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda.
45. Journal of Oriental Research Institute, Madras.
46. Journal of the University of Poona.
47. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London).
48. Journal of the Siam Society (Bangkak).
49: Journal of Sri Venkateswara University (Tirupati).
50. Journal of the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library (Tanjore).
51. Kalyana Kalpa Taru (Gorakhpur).
52. Kurukshetra (Delhi).
53. Our Heritage (Calcutta).
54. Purana (Varanasi).
55. Quarterly Review of Historical Studies (Calcutta).
56. Sagarika (Saugar).
57. Sanatan Shastram (Calcutta).
58. Span (Bombay).
59. University of Ceylon Review.
60. Vishvabharati Quarterly (Shantiniketan).
61. Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal (Hoshiarpur).
62. Journal of the University of Bombay (Arts Section).

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GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH

STATEMENT SHOWING INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE LAST

Income

Sl. No.	Heads of Accounts	Actual figures : 1966-67	1967-68	1968-69 upto 31-1-69	Estimated Budget 1968-69	1969-70
1.	Membership Fee	1074.52	1184.54	388.50	1000.00	1000,00
2.	Sale of Publications	6128.11	3072.73	2314.19	4000.00	2500.00
3.	Interest on Securities	8235.25	5424.70	4424.85	4000.00	4500.00
4.	Central Govt. Grant for Library (Ad Hoc).	6000.00	—	—	—	—
5.	State Govt. Grant (Recurring).	5000.00	5000.00	5000.00	5000.00	5000.00
6.	Central Govt. Grant (Maintenance).	—	5000.00	7500.00	—	7500.00
7.	State Govt. Grant for Books.	1420.00	—	—	—	—
8.	Miscellaneous A/C.	144.42	—	—	600	100.00
9.	Central Govt Grant for Descriptive Catalogues.	—	20301.00	4699.00	—	—
10.	Suspense Account	—	96.36	40.50	—	—
11	Sale proceeds of Descriptive Catalogues, (Vol. I Parts I & II).	—	—	70.00	—	500.00
12.	Donations to Silver Jublee Account.	—	—	91 00	—	5000 00
13.	Scholarship Account.	—	—	—	—	* 7200.00
14.	Mahakalasambhita A/C.	—	—	—	—	*20000.00
15.	Garden Account.	485.00	537.00	296.00	—	300.00
	Total ..	28,487.30	40,616.33	27,824,04	14,600.00	53,600.00
	Deficit Balance ...	—	—	16,837.31	7,025.00	6,100 00
		28,487.30	40,616.33	44,661.35	21,625.00	59,700.00

Items marked with asterisks* are subject to Govt. Grants being sanctioned.

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INSTITUTE, ALLAHABAD

THREE YEARS AND BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR 1968-69 & 1969-70.

Expenditure

Sl. No.	Heads of Accounts	Actual figures: 1966-67	1967-68	1968-69 upto 31-1-69	Estimated Budget for: 1968-69	1969 70	Remarks
1.	Establishment	9465.05	10316.61	10502.01	10100.00	15,100.00	Appen-
2.	Library A/C Purchase of Books & Manuscripts.	8351.31	1540.45	652 95	1000.00	1,300.00	dix "A"
3,	Maintenance & repairs of buildings.	—	660 66	3272.10	1000 00	500.00	
4.	Purchase &, repairs of Furniture.	2009.00	184 07	434.07	500 00	500.00	
5.	Purchase of cloth & card-board for MSS & Book-Binding A/C.	500 00	146 75	502.90	500.00	500.00	
6.	Electricity charges	120 36	190.96	162.07	125 00	200.00	
7.	House & Water Tax	—	113.49	—	200.00	200.00	
8.	Chemicals for preservation of MSS, books & periodicals.	—	—	—	200.00	200.00	
9.	Printing Charges: (Journal, books, etc.).	3300.00	2712.06	2539.12	5,000.00	5,000.00	
10.	Postage & Stationery	510 55	607.10	961.28	1,000.00	1,000 00	
11.	Interest on Overdraft	1762.52	1971.66	1497 05	1,500.00	1 500.00	
12.	Contingencies	629 42	315.70	67.10	500.00	500.00	
13.	Mahakalasamhita A/C	—	471 59	701.05	—	*20000.00	Appen-
14.	Hony. Secretary's Conveyance Allowance.	—	244.00	225.00	—	300.00	dix "B"
15.	Printing charges of Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts.	—	5558.72	19301,00	—	—	
16.	Silver Jubilee A/C	—	—	1282.02	—	3,000.00	Appen-
17.	Peons' Livery	—	—	207.87	—	200.00	dix "C"
18.	Electric Goods & repairs	—	—	1146.75	—	1,200.00	
19.	Tavelling Account	—	—	374.80	—	500 00	
20.	Telephone Account	—	—	270.00	—	500.00	
21.	Garden Account	36 00	94.00	169 50	—	200.00	
22.	Miscellaneous A/C	158.96	69.83	255.85	—	100,00	
23.	Scholarship Account	648.39	648 39	—	—	*7,200.00	
24.	Suspense Account	—	—	136.86	—	—	
	Total ..	27,491.56	25,846.54	44661.35	21,625.00	59,700.00	
	Surplus Balance	995.74	14,770.29	—	—	—	
		28,487.30	40,616.33	44661.35	21,625,00	59,700.00	

Notes :—1. Contingencies are — Bank Commission A/C; Land Rent A/C; Cycle Repairs, etc.

2. Miscellaneous expenditure items are: Payment of telephone calls, Auditors' fee, pipe repairing charges, typing of Sanskrit and Hindi etc.,

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APPENDIX "A"

STATEMENT SHOWING A YEAR'S PAY (ESTIMATED BUDGET) OF THE STAFF OF GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE, ALLAHABAD, FOR THE YEAR 1969-70

		Monthly Pay	*Annual Pay*
1.	Shri Raghubar Mitthoo Lal Shastri, Research Officer ..	100×12	Rs. 1,200.00
2.	Shri Hanumanthachar, Curator	410×12	Rs. 4,920.00
3.	Shri Guru Datt Sharma, Assistant Librarian ..	150×12	Rs. 1,800.00
4.	Shri B. D. Bhatt, Office Assistant	180×12	Rs. 2,160.00
5.	Sri Bhagwati Peon ..	73×12	Rs. 876.00
6.	Shri Tulsi Ram, Peon ..	67×12	Rs. 804.00
7.	Sri Ram Kishore Mali ..	73×12	Rs. 876.00
8.	Sri Ram Sewak Mali ..	64×12	Rs. 768.00
9.	Sri Maharaj Din, Chowkidar ..	63×12	Rs. 756.00
10.	Shri Onkar Nath, Janitor-cum-Book Lifter ..	63×12	Rs. 756.00
11.	Part-time Sweeper @ Rs. 10/- p.m.	10×12	Rs. 120.00
		TOTAL ..	Rs. 15,036.00

or say Rs. 15,100 in round figures.

APPENDIX "B"

MAHAKALASAMHITA EXPENDITURE (ESTIMATED) FOR 1969-70

1.	Sri Devendra Shastri Pundit ..	300×12	Rs. 3,600.00
2.	Sri Jaya Kishore Jha Pundit ..	100×12	Rs. 1,200.00
3.	Printing and Editing charges etc. of Vol. I Kankalakha etc. ..		Rs. 15,000.00
4.	Stationery & Postage ..		Rs. 200.00
		TOTAL ..	Rs. 20,000.00

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APPENDIX "C"

ESTIMATED BUDGET OF SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS DURING THE YEAR 1969-70

1.	One Clerk @ Rs. 100/- p.m. × 12	..	Rs. 1,200.00
2.	Publishing charges of Souvenier	..	Rs. 1,000.00
3.	Pandal and other expenses	..	Rs. 800.00
	TOTAL	..	Rs. 3,000.00

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian, Urdu and Arabic Manuscripts in the Dacca University Library. Vol. 1 Persian Manuscripts. By A. B. M. Habibullah, Published by Librarian Dacca University: 1966. pp. 406. Price Rs. 25.00.

We offer our hearty welcome to the "Descriptive Catalogue" of Oriental Manuscripts in the Dacca University Library Volume I (Persian MSS) of Part I prepared by Prof. Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah in collaboration with Maulvi Abedur Rahman. It cannot be claimed that the present volume fully satisfies the needs of an ideal Descriptive Catalogue. Yet, it has gone a long way in that direction. Its value can well be gauged from the fact that the humble writer of these lines in preparing a catalogue of the small collection of Persian and Urdu MSS and books deposited in the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute is utilising it to his considerable advantage both as a specimen as well as a mine of information on certain knotty points. As regards the requisites of a Descriptive Catalogue the exhaustive Sanskrit descriptive catalogues of the Asiatic Society of Bengal prepared by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, Mm. Dr. Harprasad Shastri and Pandit Hrishikesh Shastri, of Jaisalmer Bhandar, of Alwar Manuscripts, of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society, of the India Office, and so on and so forth, have served as our yard-stick as well as guide, inasmuch as they give sufficient clue to a research worker about the information to be sought therefrom before he can get an opportunity or has an inclination to lay his hand upon the actual manuscript described by them. And from the point of view of such a desideratum, the volume in question, though providing a good deal of information and not unoften throwing

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a flood of genuine light on the comparative value of the various Manuscripts of identical works found elsewhere, it may all the same, be viewed as deficient in places where it has failed to notice the beginning, the end or epilogue (Khātimaḥ), the colophon if any, or the contents of the work, particularly when it appears to be not a popular one. The plan of noticing these and such other details, if touched at all, should have been followed uniformly and regularly. Minor mistakes as 'Bhagvat Purān' (भग्वत्पुरान् بھگوت پُران) for the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (भागवत पुराण بھاگوت پُران) are also met with, but not in abundance. The catalogues of the Khudabaksh library, Patna, that are highly indispensable for researchers at the university seats like ours, have been there in the field long before this new project of the Dacca University Library (of which the present Volume I dealing with 364 Persian MSS in 406 demy size pages happens to be the very first publication and is to be followed in suit by Volume II Part I to deal with the Arabic and Urdu MSS) and may be consulted with greater advantage for subsequent publications in this series. We wish godspeed to this appreciable project and the learned and painstaking scholars engaged in the noble mission of its execution.

—*R. M. Shastri*

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PHIṬSŪTRA OF SANTANVA by G. V. Devasthali, University of Poona, Poona, 1967.

The centre of advanced study in Sanskrit, University of Poona is concentrating on advanced study and research in the fields of Veda and Vyākaraṇa. It has proposed to publish reprints, monographs, critical editions, exegetical and critical studies, bibliographies, indexes etc. and translations of research publications in foreign languages. The book under review has been published in this scheme.

A deep and penetrating research in Vyākaraṇa has not attracted so much attention of scholars as compared to other branches of Indology. Though scholars like Kielhorn, Goldstucken, Abhyankar, Thiene, K. A. Subramania Iyer, C. Kunjunni Raja, Gauri Nath Shastri, J. Brough and Daniel H. H. Ingals etc. have already produced brilliant works, yet a consistent and all pervasive effort remained to be done. An effort in this direction is always welcome.

Professor Devasthali has prepared a critical edition of Phiṭsūtras of Santanava very competently after nearly a century's time, when Kielhorn published its first edition. The Phiṭsūtras are, no doubt, important for the study of some aspects of Vedic Grammar and accentuation. Professor Devasthali has not only utilised Kielhorn's excellent edition and the manuscripts available, but enriched the edition with an introduction surveying the work as a whole, setting out its strong and weak points and showing thereby its usefulness to Vedic exegesis.

The translation of the Sūtras and critical and exegetical notes are brilliant and various available commentaries on the Phiṭsūtras have been utilised in preparing it. Professor Devasthali deserves every praise for this excellent edition.

—Kamlesh Dutt Tripathi

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THE SPHOTANIRNAYA by S. D. Joshi, University of Poona, Poona.

Kaunda Bhatta wrote the *Vaiyākaraṇa Bhūṣaṇa* and the *Vaiyākaraṇa Bhuṣaṇasāra* in the first half of the 17th century. Both the works are of the nature of commentaries on the Vaiyakarana Sidhanta Karika which is traditionally attributed to Bhattoji Diksita. The present work deals with the Sphotanirnaya chapter of the Vaiyakaranabhusana Sar. In recent times interest has been evinced in the study of Indian semantics and fresh attempts have been made to interpret the ancient Sanskrit works. Shri S. D. Joshi is trained in the oriental and western methods of Indological learning. He has undertaken the highly difficult task of interpreting ancient texts and evaluating the Indian contribution to the system of semantics and its relevance to the modern theories of meaning. He has tried to set forth the ancient Indian theories through the modern linguistic terminology. Though it is difficult to find exact parallel terms in western linguistics for the ancient Indian linguistic terminology for both the systems have been developed in different environments and written from different angles of vision, yet Shri S. D. Joshi has been successful enough in setting forth theories of ancient grammarians in a modern and expressive terminology. He has utilized the pioneering works of other scholars. In his introduction he has given a lucid and vivid account of the views of grammarians as also of the adherents of other philosophical systems in historical perspective. Carefully edited text, faithful translation and brilliantly written notes illustrate the pains taken by the author. This work is bound to evoke interest among the Indologists and philologists.

—*Dr. Kamlesh Dutt Tripathi, Vyakarana,*
Dharmshastra, Acharya

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THE CONCEPT OF MĀYĀ FROM THE VEDAS TO THE 20TH CENTURY by Ruth Reyno, M.A.; Ph.D., Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Pp. 120. Price Rs. 10.50 P.

The present book has been written by an American Orientalist Ruth Reyna. The author received her Ph.D. degree in philosophy from Poona University, India. Her presentation of Indian Philosophy in the Western countries is a commendable work and she deserves our thanks.

She has delned the word Māyā in the preface of the book. She has traced the concept of Māyā in Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. She has also interpreted different forms of Māyā in the philosophy of Buddhism, Gaudapāda and Śaṅkarācārya. She has also dealt with the comments of Rāmānuja on the Śaṅkara's māyāvāda.

In a few chapters of the work the writer has put down a number of ideas under different headings, such as, Māyā in the philosophy of integral and non-dualism: Sri Aurobindo, Māyā in the Advait of integral experience: Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Māyā a legitimate philosophical concept; and Māyāvāda in the 20th Century.

Māyā is the pivot of the Advait philosophy of Śaṅkara. Many philosophers have put forward a critical view of Māyā in the background of Śaṅkara's thought. The author has taken pains in compiling all these thoughts at one place in this book, which would serve as a ready reference to the interested researchers.

—*Shrīman Narain Dwivedi*

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THINKING WITH THE YAJURVEDA By G. G. Desai, Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Pp. 181. Price Rs. 20.00.

In the present book the learned author has ventured to produce a critical study of the original philosophical thoughts in the background of the *Yajurveda*. Vedic literature is the origin of Indian Science and knowledge and its study throws light on the glorious past of the Indian culture. In the introduction of the book the writer has given a study of soul and God in the perspective of the *Yajurveda*, and has tried to co-relate it with the modern scientific thought.

The author has given in nine chapters of his work a detailed description of the Vedic *Agni* and sacrifice; *Agni's* aspects; *Agni* and the field of symbolism; *Agni* and the evolution of life; personality of *Agni*. where the *Devayāna* leads the evolved; the Vedas and the *Yajñas;* the *Puruṣamedha* and *Sarvamedha Yajñas;* the *Rudrāṣṭādhyāyi* worship and *parmātmā;* and the philosophy of the *Yajurveda* (the Īśa *Upaniṣad*).

He has opened the 'mysterious treasure' of the *Yajurveda* and on the basis of the *Rudrāṣṭādhyāyī* and the *Īśa Upaniṣad* has evaluted the philosophical thoughts regarding soul and God. The writer has appropriately taken into consideration also the modern views of Bernard Shaw, Eddington, Joad and Bhabha. Thus, the writer has discussed modern thought in the light of his studies in the *Yajurveda*.

—*Shriman Narain Dwivedi*

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ADVAITA VEDĀNTA By M. K. Venkatarama Iyer, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1964. Rs. 18.00.

This is a very lucid and at the same time scholarly interpretation of the Advaitic system of Indian philosophical thought according to Śaṅkara in terms of modern concepts and in a manner easily intelligible to modern readers.

This work is an opportune attempt to co-relate modern and ancient, Western and Eastern thought and the conclusion is that modern Science is lending increasing indirect Support to the conclusions of Advaita Vedānta.

The work is authentic and deserves wide circulation.

—J.K.M.

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